The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, JULY 24, 1890.

The Week.

MR. BLAINE'S letter to Mr. Frye on the McKinley Bill continues to be the chief subject of agitation in tariff circles—except in the *Tribune* office, where it is not yet known whether it is a good letter or a bad one. Senator Aldrich has been interviewed by the Philadelphia *Press*, and he says frankly that if what Mr. Blaine says is true, then the whole theory of protection is false. That theory maintains that, in proportion as you exclude foreign goods, you make a market for farm products at home. Mr. Blaine says that the McKinley Bill will not make a new market for one bushel of wheat or one barrel of pork. Mr. Aldrich contends that

> "Under the bill, should it become law, this country would be able to manufacture its own woollen and worsted goods, of which $52,564,942 worth were imported last year. This would give employment to many thousands more workingmen in this country, all of whom would be consumers of farm products. The $21,000,000 worth of tin plate now imported would, under the bill, be manufactured in this country, giving steady employment to at least 24,000 men, all of whom would be consumers of farm products. Then the large importations of Canada barley and other farm products would be stopped. All of this would make so much more of a market for the products of American farms."

We are now in the second century of our endeavor to carry this beautiful theory into practice, and are no nearer to its realization than we were in the beginning; in fact, farther away than we were at the start, because the progress of invention substituting machinery for hand labor is always in the progressive and cumulative stage. Perhaps Mr. Blaine sees that the task of providing mouths on our own soil for all of our farm products is somewhat Sisyphean, although he has not exactly said so. What he said was that the whole McKinley Bill will not make a new market for one bushel of wheat or one barrel of pork.

Mr. Frye's answer to Mr. Blaine's exposition of the shortcomings of the McKinley Bill opens oddly enough with the phrase: "Your letter leaves me in some doubt as to the facts." This proposition is true, we think, of nearly every letter Mr. Blaine writes or has written. Indeed, it is a peculiarity of his letters to leave people in doubt as to the facts, but none of his Maine friends has ever called attention to it before as Mr. Frye has done. He then goes on to catechise Mr. Blaine, with some appearance of acidity, as to his knowledge of what the effect of the "Hale Amendment," which Mr. Blaine himself is said to have drawn, would be. This amendment authorizes the President to open our ports, by proclamation, to the products of all American nations who on their part will admit to their ports free of duty a long list of American products. What Mr. Frye wants to know is whether Mr. Blaine knows how the nations of the "American Hemisphere" would receive this, and, in particular, how it would affect sugar. But little sugar, he says, would come from any American States but Cuba and Porto Rico. But Spain controls the imports of these islands, and how much of our list would she let them receive? The probabilities are that this is intended to draw farther particulars from Mr. Blaine, and that they will be forthcoming shortly, for he is evidently in a communicative mood. But upon the main points, the advantages of foreign trade with anybody, he has not been sufficiently explicit. Is it advantageous to exchange commodities, even with American republics, or with Latins more than Teutons? Mr. Blaine seems fully committed to reciprocity, but he has not as yet set forth the principle of the thing with sufficient clearness. How, for instance, would reciprocity be secured? The natural tendency of the Latins will be, after selling us their goods, instead of ordering some of ours, to take their pay in gold and sneak off and spend it in London. How is this to be checked? Will it do to let foreigners sell cargoes here without some assurance that they will carry away our goods in exchange? Confidence is a good thing, but we would not trust these men too far.

Those Republican newspapers which are trying to agree with Mr. Blaine in his views about the sugar duties, and also with Mr. Blaine's opponents, say that the Secretary of State is right in theory, but that he made a mistake in waiting so long before announcing the theory. If he had communicated his views in good time, before the House had committed itself, it would have been possible to frame the bill according to the Secretary's enlightened views, etc. That this is a subterfuge on the part of the puzzled editors a few facts will make clear. The House doubled the duties on flax and linen. The Senate did not find itself at all embarrassed by that circumstance: the Committee on Finance struck out the increased duties on these articles without the slightest compunction. The House admitted the yellow sugars of the West Indies free of duty. The Senate Committee put a duty of 3-10 cent per pound on them for the benefit of the poor refiners. The House put a duty on sulphuric acid. The Senate Committee restored it to the free list. Many other equally impressive instances might be found showing that it is never too late to amend. But perhaps the most impressive of all is the present tariff itself—the tariff of 1883, now in force. The House, after a long controversy over the Tariff Commission's bill, had decided that it was not desirable to pass any tariff bill at all. It did, however, make some amendments to the Internal Revenue Law. These were sent to the Senate. The latter body proceeded to enact a new tariff from beginning to end, and to attach it as an amendment to the Internal-Revenue Bill of the House. That was not all. A conference committee took up the subject and changed some of the duties that both Senate and House had agreed upon. These facts show that there is no lack of time to adopt Mr. Blaine's suggestions, which are in themselves extremely simple, if there is any disposition to do so. And there does seem to be a disposition in some influential quarters to adopt them. Senator Hale of Maine has been interviewed on the subject, and he declares himself in favor of it. One of the North Dakota Senators is also in favor of it. When the debate is opened on the revenue and expenditures of the next fiscal year (the year 1892), there will be found sufficient arguments for retaining the sugar duties, even without the reasons furnished by Mr. Blaine.

The cartoon in last week's *Judge* entitled "Jealous Jim," and representing Mr. Blaine as peering over a wall at Mr. McKinley, who is conducting an apparently successful flirtation with Miss Republican Party, is naturally attracting a great deal of attention. The close relations which *Judge* bears to the President's family are of themselves sufficient to make this treatment of Mr. Blaine noteworthy. The President's son is an avowed partner in business with Mr. Arkell, who is the proprietor of *Judge*. In August last, when a statement was made that the President's son was part proprietor in *Judge*, Mr. Arkell published a card denying that such was the case, but a few weeks later he impaired the value of this denial by sending out the following invitation to the press:

> DEAR SIR: Mr. Russell B. Harrison is returning from Europe on the *City of Paris*, due here on Wednesday next, and a number of *his co-laborers on Judge* and *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper* intend going down to Quarantine on the steamboat *Laura M. Starin* to meet him. . . . We shall be very glad to have you, or, if it is impossible for you to go personally, a representative of your paper, accompany us on the trip. Very truly yours,
> W. J. ARKELL.

The *Judge's* ridicule of Mr. Blaine, as the victim of jealousy, therefore puts the President's son in the position of poking fun publicly at his father's Secretary of State. There has been much speculation as to the real cause of Mr. Blaine's assaults upon the McKinley Tariff Bill. Some observers have thought that he was actuated simply by a desire to show that he is not, as his rivals have been saying he is, a political "back number." Others have said that he is really in earnest in thinking that the protection policy has been pushed far enough, and that the time has come for the party to begin to move towards tariff reform and free trade by the indirect road of American reciprocity; still others think that he is not aiming at McKinley and his bill at all, but is really trying to "knock out" Speaker Reed, whose preëminence and power in the party are believed to be most displeasing to him. The White House semi-official declaration that the real cause of the commotion is jealousy of Mr. McKinley will add interest to the specula-

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tion, but will not be generally accepted as final.

The *Tribune's* Washington correspondent is very anxious to have it understood that the term "Force Bill" applied to the Election Bill now before Congress is a misnomer, and that the bill does not in the least resemble the real "Force Bill" of 1875, which authorized the President to suspend the habeas corpus and establish martial law in the Southern States in certain contingencies, of the occurrence of which he was to be the judge. It is true that the present bill is not as strong a dose as the Force Bill of 1875, but it nevertheless resembles it so closely in certain particulars as to make the common name appropriate. The first point of resemblance is, that the Republican majority in the House were just as confident of the necessity and expediency of the original Force Bill as they are now of the necessity and expediency of this one. They insisted upon it that the safety of the Government and the establishment of justice called for its passage, and they passed it, and denounced the people who opposed it in almost the same terms in which they denounce the people who oppose this. It failed in the Senate, and fifteen years of experience has convinced everybody of the folly, if not wickedness, of its supporters. Time has shown that it was not necessary and not expedient, and would have proved a piece of deplorable partisan folly. The second point of resemblance is that this bill, like the first, is of doubtful constitutionality—that is, the bar and judiciary would probably be divided as to the legality of some of its provisions, such as giving the Federal Supervisor the right to pass on the qualifications of voters. The third point is that it is proposed to use the army and navy, if necessary, to enforce it. The fourth point is that the present bill, like the first one, is supposed to be passed in the interest of the negro, but that no intelligent negro sees how it is going to improve his condition. Nearly all extraordinary legislation of this character has, or professes to have, some good object in view. If this plea had always sufficed to secure the passage of such measures, there would now be no such thing as free government in the world.

One of the melancholy features of the bill is the part that Mr. Lodge is made to play in its passage. He is doubtless very glad to have it bear his name, as he is in politics for party popularity and general notoriety, and doubtless the more he is abused on account of his connection with it, the better he is pleased. But no one, probably, sees more clearly than he the weight of the objections to it of all kinds, and it was probably for this very reason that the task of introducing it was assigned to him. When the managers get hold of a real docile and tractable "scholar in politics," they like to break him in with repulsive jobs. They like to exhibit him to the world as the servile instrument of their will, *perinde ac cadaver*, as the Jesuits say of their novices. When poor Laurence Oliphant joined the Harris Community, he was, simply because he hated horses, put to work as a teamster and made to groom and clean out the stable. In like manner, it was not by mere chance that Lodge was sent down into Rhode Island two years ago to stump the State for a defaulters' ticket. It was to discipline him and take the moral starch out of him. For the same reason they have set him to perorate over the need of this bill, and show the wondrous work of purification it will accomplish at the South. Whether it passes or not, he will be thoroughly broken in.

The Reed-Lodge managers of the Force Bill have followed up their attempt to bully Republican newspapers into supporting the scheme by inducing some professional colored politicians, mostly holding Federal offices in Washington, to issue an appeal to the Senate for its passage. The reason urged is, of course, the necessity of such a measure to secure free and fair elections in the South. As the Chairman of the Association puts it: "The great question involved in the passage of the Lodge Bill is not the advantage which the Republican party will reap by regaining its lost Congressional districts in the South, but the permanent and effective reëstablishment of negro suffrage, which, since the overthrow of the reconstructed Republican State governments, has been practically nullified and suppressed." But how can the Lodge Bill "reëstablish negro suffrage" and restore the State governments in the South to the Republican party? Take the next election which occurs in that part of the country—the one in Alabama on the first Monday of August, for the choice of a Governor, Legislature, and county officials. If the Lodge Bill were enacted to-morrow, it would have and could have no influence whatever upon the State election in Alabama, and the State election is the only one which is of any importance to the negroes. What possible advantage could it be to them if the Lodge Bill were to become a law and to be enforced in the November elections for Congressmen, so long as it has no bearing upon the choice of the men who make and enforce the State laws under which they live?

One argument which supporters of the Force Bill are using is based upon the action recently taken by Mahone's Republican State Committee in Virginia, refusing to contest several of the Congresssonal districts this year, on the ground that a fair election cannot be had under the State Election Law. Here, say the bloody-shirt organs in the North, is ample justification for the passage of a Federal Election law. But what does the leading Republican newspaper of the State, the *Valley Virginian*, say about it? Why, simply that "this is all sham and pretence," an attempt by Mahone to "convey the impression by this contemptible device that his disgraceful defeat last fall was attributable to that law," whereas "the fact is, it was the result of the contempt and disgust the people of Virginia feel for him." The *Valley Virginian* points out that the Republicans carried the State in 1886, electing six out of ten Congressmen, when Mahone kept out of the canvass; that they lost the Legislature in 1887 because he thrust himself to the front again; that it was his treachery alone which deprived the Republicans of the electoral vote of Virginia in 1888, and that the deserved defeat of the party in 1889 was due solely to his forcing himself to the front. In short, this deliverance of Mahone's Committee, according to this Republican editor, who understands the exact situation, is simply an attempt to "make it appear that he is a martyr of the State Election Law, and thus invite sympathy from Republicans elsewhere, when the fact is it is because the people have determined that Mahone shall never again rule this State."

Mr. Max Jaegerhuber writes to the *Dry Goods Economist*, as the result of a recent sojourn in Europe, that while the business communities of the Old World concede the right of the United States to adopt any kind of a tariff that suits them, yet that if the "wild absurdity" known as the McKinley Bill passes, they will "unite in the most rigid retaliation ever known in commercial war, and will reduce our exports to a degree we do not now dream of." This is very encouraging news for tariff-reformers. What they most desire to see incorporated in the laws of Congress is "protection" in its ideal state—that is, a prohibition of foreign trade. This kind of industrial paradise can be reached much sooner if foreign nations cooperate with us than if they remain passive. It seems quite certain that the Continental countries will do so to our satisfaction if the McKinley Bill passes. Mr. Jaegerhuber is a close observer and a competent authority, as well as an impartial one. What he says upon this subject can be depended upon. We commend his observations to Senators Aldrich, Sherman, and Morrill, and indeed to all who think that the road to general prosperity and a flourishing public treasury lies in the way of prohibiting foreign trade.

New terrors are added to the proposed increase of the duty on tin plates by facts set forth in a petition sent to the Senate a few days since by the Chemical Section of the Manufacturers' Club of Philadelphia. This petition asks for a great many increased duties, and among others it calls for a duty on "red earth, or raddle, used for polishing lenses," the same being now on the free list. Several reasons are advanced why we should have a good stiff duty on raddle, which is one of the oxides of iron. One reason is thus stated in the petition:

> "If the tin-plate industry is to be added to the iron manufacture of this country, it will soon be found that the enormous amount of spent acid which it will have to dispose of cannot be run into the rivers and streams as is now being done."

In order that our streams may be saved from pollution with spent acid from tin-plate works, it is necessary, in the view of these

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chemists, to put a duty on raddle sufficiently high to induce its conversion into that useful commodity. The petition is printed at length in the *Manufacturer* of July 16. It includes, of course, a request for a duty on quinine, the manufacture of which is said to be in a shaky condition.

"It is a fact that the proposition was made to one of our leading linen-importers," said Mr. Henesey of No. 81 Franklin Street, "that Senator Matthew S. Quay, if liberally retained, would prevent the proposed increase of duties on linen." This statement was published in the *Times* of Friday and in the *Herald* of Saturday, and has not yet been questioned. Mr. R. H. Ewart, a man of character, and the President of the Linen-Importers' Association, said that he was satisfied that the proposition had been made, but that he did not know whether the person making it could retain Mr. Quay's services or not. He did know, however, that W. W. Dudley of the Blocks-of-Five was "behind the effort to raise the tariff on linen," and he considered it strange that one of this noble pair should be on one side of the linen question and the other open to an engagement on the other side. This betrays much innocence on Mr. Ewart's part. We have no information respecting any engagements or retainers of either Quay or Dudley, but we see no reason why they should not be on opposite sides of the linen question in a business way, and yet be on the most amicable terms. "All is fish that comes to our net" is a venerable maxim, and one of frequent application. We should say, however, that in a friendly contest of this kind (if there were one), the chances would be much in favor of Quay, since he has a vote to give in deciding the question, while Dudley has none. Another thing very helpful to him, if he were retained, would be the fact that the Senate Committee on Finance has already decided against the increase of the duties on linen proposed in the McKinley Bill, notwithstanding the generous offer of Barbour & Co. not to raise the prices of such linen as they manufacture in this country, if the duties are increased. This public-spirited proposal has not met with the recognition due to it, either in the trade or in the field of politics. The only place where it is appreciated is in the columns of the *Dry-Goods Economist*, and possibly in the mind of W. W. Dudley.

Senator Sherman has reported from the Finance Committee a bill providing that national banks shall not be required to hold more than $1,000 of United States bonds as a mere condition of their charters, and that they may issue notes up to the par value of their bonds instead of 90 per cent. as at present. The existing law requires every bank to deposit with the Treasurer of the United States at least $30,000 of bonds, and a greater amount in proportion to their capital. This is a requirement which has nothing to do with their circulation. The theory is that the lending of money to the Government is a necessary legal condition of a national charter. Whether this be a correct theory or not, it is immaterial in a legal point of view whether the amount of money so lent is large or small. It is also immaterial in a financial point of view now, although at the time when the Banking Act was passed it was of importance. One thousand dollars will answer all requirements of every kind and description, and it is especially desired now that as many bonds be released as possible, in order that the Secretary of the Treasury may make his sinking-fund purchases at the lowest rate. The other part of Mr. Sherman's bill has been before Congress many times, and has always been "kinked" with some greenback or silver fanaticism, so that it has failed to pass. There is some danger that it may fail now for the same reason, but it ought certainly to receive the support of the Senators who have been lately bewailing the shortage of currency. The bill will insure the adding of 10 per cent. to the bank-note circulation upon the basis of bonds already deposited for that purpose, and may lead to the depositing of other bonds for the same purpose—that is, to an extension of the system.

The French have taken, or attempted to take, deep offence at the assumption by the British of the protectorate of Zanzibar under the Anglo-German Treaty, because in 1862 a joint declaration was signed by the French and English Governments reciprocally guaranteeing the independence of the Sultan. Moreover, the final act of the Berlin Conference in 1885 obliged every European nation which meant to establish a protectorate over any portion of the African coast, to give notice to all the other Powers. When M. Brisson brought the matter up in the French Chambers, the Minister of Foreign Affairs fenced off the question by declaring that he felt quite sure Great Britain would adhere to her agreement, and that no notice had been received of her inclination to do anything else. But notice has by this time been received, and though the French are very angry, no trouble is anticipated in England, for the simple reason that there exists between England and France a precisely similar agreement to respect the independence of Madagascar, and this has not prevented the French from establishing a protectorate, and indeed one might say, a sort of sovereignty, over half the island. What is likely is, that the Zanzibar protectorate undertaken by agreement with Germany alone will irritate the French into increased captiousness about Newfoundland and other outstanding causes of dispute, especially Egypt. M. Ribot's speech about Egypt has in fact verged on the provocative, and has probably furnished Lord Salisbury with his best defence of the Anglo-German Treaty, as it has shown the need of an ally in case France completely lost patience.

The Committee of the House of Commons has favorably reported the bill to fix more definitely the liability of directors for false or misleading statements in prospectuses. English papers seem to think that the bill will go through Parliament and become a law without material modification. It provides that where a prospectus or notice invites persons to subscribe for shares in or debentures or debenture stock of a company, every person who is a director of the company at the time of the issue of the prospectus or notice, and every person who is named in the prospectus or notice as a director of the company or as having agreed to become a director of the company, either immediately or after an interval of time, and every person who has authorized or is responsible for the issue of the prospectus or notice, shall be liable to pay compensation to all persons who shall subscribe for any shares, debentures, or debenture stock on the faith of such prospectus or notice, for the loss or damage they may have sustained by reason of any untrue or misleading statement in the prospectus or notice, or in any report or memorandum incorporated therewith or referred to therein, unless he proves affirmatively his non-liability according to certain rules laid down in the bill. It will be observed that the bill makes the directors liable only for losses incurred through *misleading statements*. This is conservative, and ought to quiet the fears of those who think that good and responsible men will now decline to take the management of incorporated companies. Losses due to lack of judgment in management are not referred to.

Gen. von Moltke has put on record his testimony against alcohol, which he says he never uses and thinks unnecessary; and he sets down as "one of the greatest enemies of Germany the misuse of alcohol." But he stands manfully by beer, and wishes that "tea, coffee, and light beer could be made cheaper than they are." For light wine he has apparently nothing to say. The greatest objection to beer, if it be not the only one, as a popular drink, is, that people keep at it all the time. The quantities that a real votary consumes in the day, and especially in a hot day, are enormous, and the reason is, perhaps, that it really does little or nothing towards quenching thirst. On the contrary, there is much reason for believing that it steadily excites thirst, or, in other words, provides for its own increased consumption. It bids fair, however, to conquer the world. The product in America is enormous, and it makes steady strides in supplanting light wine in France. But nearly all the arguments in its favor are based on the assumption that it is consumed in moderation, whereas, as a matter of fact, it is consumed immoderately, and when so consumed is an undoubted deadener of some of the faculties, although it may not produce what is called intoxication. The force of Gen. von Moltke's testimony in its favor, too, is somewhat weakened by the question whether even his greatness in the popular German eye would bear the strain of an attack on beer.

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OPTIMISTS AND PESSIMISTS.

Bishop Potter's Phi Beta Kappa address at Harvard, in which he pointed out, with a very courageous touch, some of the social and political dangers of the time, has brought down on him what a certain class of politicians consider the most serious reproach that can be addressed to a critic of public affairs or of public men—the reproach, namely, of being a "pessimist." And it is not surprising that politicians should consider this a serious reproach, because there is nothing from which they themselves shrink so fearfully. No man who wants to make his way in public life ever allows for a moment that anything can fail to "come out right in the end," in this very best of republics, unless, indeed, the opposite party should stay in power too long, or should happen, by any untoward chance, to succeed his party in power. In either of these cases no view of the future of the Republic is too dark for him to take. He positively revels in the prospect of coming woes. Those who can recall the pictures of what was to happen in case Cleveland were elected, which used to appear in the New York *Tribune* and other Republican organs during the campaign of 1884, will admit that no drearier future was ever held up before a trembling community than that with which the American people was threatened during those eventful months. At that time it was held in Republican circles to be the duty of a true man to be as pessimistic as he knew how to be, and not to keep his gloom to himself either, but to fill every market-place with his groans and lamentations. We remember one despondent Republican assuring us that in case, by some shameless trick on the part of his supporters, or by some extraordinary intellectual collapse on the part of the American people, Cleveland succeeded in making his way into the Presidential chair, we should, in one-half year after his inauguration, witness the unchecked highway robbery of the rich by the starving poor in the streets of this city; while another declared that, in the same event, his own accumulations of a lifetime of honest industry—which were considerable—would be offered to his friends at fifty cents on the dollar.

But, of course, campaign pessimism does not count. As a general rule every successful member of the party in power is an optimist of the first water, and the more he is exposed to any kind of obloquy or suspicion, the firmer is his faith in the national destiny. It would not do to say that every optimist is a corruptionist, for it would be far from true—many men being optimists from temperament—but it would be strictly correct to say that every corruptionist is also an optimist. We doubt if there be in the Union to-day more hopeful and cheerful spectators of events than Matthew S. Quay and John Wanamaker, and we all remember that on the very eve of the collapse which withdrew John F. Plummer from national politics, he publicly expressed the most buoyant confidence and pride in the future of his country. If any one doubts our judgment on this point, let him go about among the Boys of the Republican party and ask them, either individually or collectively, whether they see anything in the present posture of public affairs, barring the attitude of the Democrats on the McKinley Bill, to cause any one except a crank or a person whose applications for "recognition" have failed, to feel in the least uncomfortable over the condition or prospects of the American people. We know well what the answer would be.

What is most curious about the optimism of politicians, however, is, that it bears very little resemblance to the optimism of private and business life. In all other spheres of human activity, while the cultivation of the habit of cheerfulness and hopefulness is greatly commended, nothing brings a man into more disrepute than an optimism which pays no attention to facts and bears no relation to them. In business a man who kept saying that "all would come out right in the end," and that precautions and safeguards against failure or mischance were therefore unnecessary, would soon cease to be trusted, and would end by being generally laughed at. Out of politics, people's expectations about the future are expected to be based on reason and experience. A man, in order to be respected or confided in, must take note of the fact that there are bad people in the world; that health and character are exposed to many risks; that the heart has many deceits in it; that money does not come when it is looked for; that all trade is not profitable; that railroads sometimes pass their dividends and default on their bonds; that banks occasionally burst up; that sons sometimes go to the bad; that daughters often marry the wrong men; that sermons and briefs have to be carefully prepared in order to be effective; that sick people have to be closely watched; that surgical operations sometimes fail; that, in short, the race is not always to the swift, nor the battle to the strong—and must govern himself accordingly. A man who does not do so, and who trusts to luck in the management of his affairs, is said to dwell in "a fool's paradise." When Bishop Potter gets up in the pulpit and reminds us of these things, people say: "What an excellent discourse; how full of wisdom!" But when he gets up in the rostrum and applies to political phenomena the lessons of ages of human experience, all the fools in the country pop out of their paradise and say that his view cannot be sound or useful, because it is so "awfully unpleasant and gloomy, don't you know."

Human nature and the course of human events are very much the same in politics as elsewhere. When that egregious blatherskite, Senator Ingalls of Kansas, in his famous excision of the Ten Commandments and the Golden Rule from his system of political morality, likened politics to war, he forgot that in war it is only ceaseless vigilance and remorseless pessimism which keep an army ready either to march or fight. Nothing can be left to chance. The whole day and often the whole night have to be passed in providing against possible crimes, offences, and shortcomings, in dragging abuses to light and eradicating them. It is hardly an exaggeration to say, indeed, that all the advances the race has made in civilization have been due to the labors and sacrifices of thoughtful, reasonable, and public-spirited pessimists. The optimists in every age have as a whole filled the jails and the almshouses, or lived on the bounty of their gloomier friends and relatives. A cheerful temper and a hopeful spirit are great and valuable gifts; but they do the world little good when they are not backed up by a clear-sighted perception of the work which has to be done, and the vigilance which has to be exercised, to keep us all from relapsing into barbarism.

THE NATIONAL BALANCE-SHEET.

It is, of course, too early to say with anything like positiveness that the Secretary of the Treasury will or will not be able to make ends meet during the present fiscal year. The question is one of momentous importance in a political point of view, for if the people should find the Secretary borrowing money to pay current expenses after all the clamor that has been raised about the surplus during recent years, they would visit with condign punishment the party responsible for such a disagreeable surprise; and they would do this quite regardless of any views that might be entertained about the tariff or the Force Bill, or any other matter of public concern. Therefore we must expect that the party in power will maintain stoutly that the income will be greater than the outgo, while the opposition will maintain the contrary if there is any ground for doing so.

Attention has been strongly drawn to the subject by a Senate resolution, adopted on the motion of Senator Edmunds, asking the Committee on Appropriations to state the aggregate amount of the appropriations made or now pending in Congress. Senator Allison replied that they amounted to about $359,000,000. Senator Gorman thereupon remarked: "But the Senator does not include in that estimate, as a matter of course, the permanent appropriations, amounting to about $100,000,000?" To which Mr. Allison responded: "Of course I do not include in that the permanent appropriations." The permanent appropriations, as shown in the estimates of the Secretary of the Treasury, amount to $52,000,000. The sinking fund ($49.000,000) accounts for the balance of the $100,000,000 referred to by Mr. Gorman, this being also in the list of permanent appropriations in the Revised Statutes, although kept in a separate account at the Department. We have, then, a total of $459,000,000 of ordinary disbursements laid out, not including anything for the purchase of silver bullion, or for pensions under the new law, or for bounties or subsidies of any kind. Where is the income to meet these bills?

The Secretary of the Treasury has estimated his receipts at $385,000,000, to which should be added the postal revenue, which for the year 1889 was $56,000,000, and which will probably be $60,000,000 during the pre-

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sent year. It has been estimated at $65,000,000, but it can hardly be as much as that without entailing a large increase in the expenses also. The Post-office appropriation always gives an indefinite sum to cover any deficit that may arise. Apparently, then, the receipts will be $445,000,000 and the expenses $459,000,000—a deficiency of $14,000,000. But it was stated by Mr. Dockery in the House the other day that the appropriations for regular pensions (*i. e.*, exclusive of the new bills) were $8,000,000 short of the amount actually called for last year, and this was admitted by Mr. Cannon, who said that Congress would be in session again before the 4th of March next, and could deal with any deficiencies that might be discovered meanwhile.

So the probable deficit of $14,000,000 rises to $22,000,000 without more ado. There is also pending, and not included in Mr. Allison's estimate, a bill appropriating $636,000 for new clerks to examine pension claims under the new bill. It is expected that the adjusted pension claims under the new bills will begin to reach the Treasury within ninety days after this additional force gets in working order. How much money will be actually required to meet these claims within the present fiscal year is a matter of conjecture. It is within safe bounds to say that the new pensions will absorb as much as will be left over from the appropriations for rivers and harbors, fortifications and new battle-ships, not more than one-half of which can be expended within the year. We have seen no account as yet of the sums required by the raft of private pension bills that have passed during the present session. These claims do not wait for adjudication, Congress having adjudicated them outright. Probably the $8,000,000 of deficiency conceded by Mr. Cannon, as noted above, will be swollen to $10,000,000 or $12,000,000.

If there is a probable deficiency of $22,000,000 on the basis of present taxes, what resources can the Secretary rely upon to meet it? He has $55,000,000 of the national bank-note redemption fund. Probably $15,000,000 of this will be required during the year to meet redemptions over and above the amount that may be deposited by other retiring banks. The $40,000,000 remaining may be needed for bullion purchases under the new Silver Bill, for although these purchases are met in the first instance by an issue of Treasury notes, the notes are only due-bills, which the Treasury must take care of all the time and keep on a par with gold under the terms of the second section of the act. It is hardly possible, therefore, to look at this fund as available for general purposes, although the authority to use it is ample. Another resource is the $55,000,000 of net cash on hand as reported on the 30th of June. Of this sum $31,000,000 was deposited in national banks. The remaining $24,000,000 is the Secretary's "working balance," which cannot with safety be much reduced. The $31,000,000, however, is a plum which can be eaten at any time, but can be eaten only once. It will choke the deficit of the coming year and leave something over, *unless* there is a material reduction of the revenues. Such reduction may come either by repealing Custom-house taxes or by making them so high as to check importations. Both of these ends are sought in the McKinley Bill according to the declaration of McKinley himself. Now that this subject is before the Senate, we shall probably learn what relations the McKinley Bill bears to a possible deficit.

There has been some talk of suspending the payments to the sinking fund, and some commentators have referred to this matter as though the Secretary had a discretion either to make those payments or not to make them. This is an error. Only Congress can suspend those payments. The Secretary can determine at what times within the year they may be made, but he cannot fail, under existing laws, to make them at some time within the year.

THE FORCE BILL IN OHIO AND MICHIGAN.

THE Force Bill is commonly discussed as a purely Southern measure, which will have no application to the North. In point of fact, if the bill becomes a law, it may be taken for granted that its enforcement will be called for in every Congressional district of the North. It requires the signatures of only one hundred persons in a district to a petition asking that it be applied, and the machinery must be put in operation. It will probably be the policy of the Democratic party to insist upon the enforcement of the law throughout the North, with the idea that it will prove so unpopular as to injure the party responsible for its enactment. However this may be, there is not a Congressional district which has not enough Prohibitionists, Greenbackers, or labor-reformers, to call for Federal supervision, so disgusted have they become with the results of elections under State authorities. In the States of Ohio and Michigan there is not a particle of doubt that the Prohibitionists will insist upon Federal supervision in every district, because they claim that in each State they have been cheated out of the adoption of prohibition amendments at elections under State laws.

Federal supervision has its origin in the United States Circuit Court. There are nine circuit judges, and it appears to be universally taken for granted that these nine judges are all good Republicans, and consequently will give the Republican party control of all the supervisors and other officials who are to be appointed. The truth, however, is that one of the nine judges is a Democrat; worse still, a Southern Democrat; worst of all, a Southern Democratic "rebel." To cap the climax, the circuit over which this "rebel" presides, includes the two "truly loyal" Northern States of Ohio and Michigan. On the 12th of April, 1886, President Cleveland appointed Howell E. Jackson as Circuit Judge of the United States for the Sixth Judicial Circuit, which covers the States of Tennessee, Kentucky, Ohio, and Michigan. Mr. Jackson is a native of Tennessee, and, when the Rebellion broke out, he supported the cause of the South, holding an office under the Confederate Government. A Democratic President thus appointed to interpret the Federal Constitution a man who had given his support to the movement for the overthrow of the Federal Government.

What will happen in Ohio and Michigan if the Force Bill is passed? In the first place, Prohibitionists in every Congressional district will, probably, call for its application. But how is that to be secured? Only by a resort to this "rebel" Judge, who lives in Tennessee. And what power will this Tennessee "rebel" have over the loyal Republicans of Ohio and Michigan? Briefly, the power to dictate the control of their Congressional elections by boards a majority of which shall be Democrats. To begin with, the Circuit Court will appoint a chief supervisor for each of the judicial districts in the circuit, of which there are two each in Ohio and Michigan. The chief supervisor will assign to each voting place three supervisors, "but two of whom shall be of the same political party," and two of whom will of course be Democrats, who are to have virtually absolute control of the registration of voters and the casting of the ballots. But the counting of the votes is a much more important matter than the registration of voters or the casting of the ballots. The counting will be under the absolute control of men appointed by the Circuit Court. The bill provides that the judge of this court shall appoint for each State within his circuit three persons to be known as the United States canvassers of the Congressional vote of the State, and when their count does not agree with that of the State canvassers, it is to overrule the latter, and the person whom they declare elected must be placed upon the roll of the House by the Clerk of that body, who is subject to both fine and imprisonment if he neglects to do this. Of course, a majority of these Federal boards of canvassers in Ohio and Michigan appointed by a Democratic judge will be Democrats.

This, then, is the way it will work. A Tennessee "rebel" will appoint Democrats as chief Federal supervisors for the judicial districts of Ohio and Michigan. These Democratic chief supervisors will appoint three supervisors, two of whom will be Democrats, to take charge of the election at every polling-place. Finally, the "rebel" judge will appoint boards of three canvassers, two of whom in each case will be Democrats, in each State, and the men to whom the Democratic majority of these boards award certificates will be entitled to seats in the next House of Representatives.

Take, for example, the Congressional district which includes the northern peninsula of Michigan. Hitherto the Congressional election in that district has been under the charge of local officials appointed under the authority of the State of Michigan, and controlled by the Republican party. If the Force Bill becomes a law, these officials may still be appointed and the Republican Governor of Michigan may stand ready to give a certificate to the Republican candidate

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whom they return as elected, but local officials, Governor and all, will be powerless if the Democratic canvassing board appointed by that "rebel" Judge down in Tennessee says the Democratic nominee was elected.

So far as we have observed, attention has not been called to this peculiar feature of the way in which the Force Bill will work. But, of course, the Republicans of Ohio and Michigan will not object. For the sake of having Republican circuit judges appoint Republicans to control the Congressional elections throughout the South (except in Kentucky and Tennessee), they will gladly surrender the control of the elections in their own States to a Tennessee "rebel" who sustained Jefferson Davis during the civil war.

INDUSTRIAL STOCKS.

WE are reasonably certain of seeing in the United States a large increase in the number of companies incorporated to carry on such trading or manufacturing as has hitherto generally been conducted through partnerships. (We are not now speaking of Trusts.) There are many reasons for this. Two or three men as partners, by their ability and hard work, have, we will say, built up a prosperous business. The founders are growing old, or for good reasons wish others to be in training for future managers. Of the sons some show aptitude for the business, while some prefer a life of such leisure as they think the family wealth and their education entitle them to. How shall justice be done to all these in any arrangement for the future? Or if new blood must be brought in, how shall it be done? Aside from the advantage of non-liability for reverses beyond the amount invested, incorporated companies with capital divided into shares offer the easiest and most secure way of portioning a founder's interest in a business among his sons or successors, according to any plan he may select. Shares can be transferred in any number and at any price without disturbing the business, and without expensive and protracted litigation. There are many incorporated trading companies so formed for these reasons, whose shares are not for sale.

It is an inevitable step from such companies owned by the managers to those where a greater or less amount of the capital stock is offered to the public. These are certain to grow in number also, though they introduce new questions of finance. Founders of established industries easily see that, through a company whose shares are held partly by themselves and partly by the public, a much larger sum can be realized than could be obtained by any sale of plant and good-will to private parties. Another point in favor of the modern method is that stock in the new company can be allotted to junior heads of departments, and even to important customers, whereby a community of interest can be maintained which in any large undertaking is of the highest importance to the best results. The point of difficulty in the sale of a business to an incorporated company part of whose shares are for public subscription, is the value of the good-will. In England industrial companies have fallen into a slight temporary disfavor because of the enormous amount paid to the Allsopps for good-will, that business after the sale showing a large falling off; so that the question is now seriously debated abroad whether a firm's possible and future trade is worth more than a nominal sum.

Evidently, about such a question no hard-and-fast rule can be laid down. Procter & Gamble of Cincinnati, the latest large concern to become incorporated, have a proprietary article whose sales, already large, will for some time to come depend upon keeping up the reputation already established. They should be credited with this; yet it is also true that all the large soap-makers are now manufacturing the same kind of article, though, of course, not under the same brand. This company proposes to capitalize its business at $6,500,000, divided thus:

Appraised value of real estate	$2,525,000
Quick assets (stores and personal property)	1,250,000
	$3,775,000
Leaving for good-will	2,725,000
	$6,500,000

The old firm get $2,000,000 in bonds, $3,000,000 in stock, with $1,500,000 in cash, less expenses and commissions. Thus the good-will is valued as high as the real estate. Whether it is overestimated or not is a question each investor must decide for himself. By the agreement the old firm can sell all its securities except $1,000,000 of common stock, and further agrees that two of the present managers shall remain in charge at salaries aggregating $30,000 per year. This latter agreement, intended to be favorable, might be construed contrariwise, for $15,000 is far too small a salary for a man capable of building up and continuing so large a business, provided he sells his stock and so has only his salaried interest in the company's success. In the somewhat melancholy record of the world's attempts at the different forms of coöperation, one fact stands out clear—executive ability is of the highest order of talent; a man possessing it and employed by others must be correspondingly well paid, and is worth all he costs, for without such a manager no large company has ever yet succeeded permanently.

Granting that there is a place among investments which the industrial stocks may fairly and legitimately occupy, it must be said that time is yet required to determine their real value for capitalists. New business experiments appealing for public subscriptions must go through a period of financial measles before attaining maturity. It is perhaps a weakness of a railroad that its traffic is limited to such passengers and goods as seek its narrow right of way; for it cannot turn north or south at will, and as occasion may require, in search of trade, as can a manufacturer whose field is in all directions. Yet, on the other hand, when its traffic is once secured, it has a stability unknown as yet in commerce, where a novelty paying well today may be replaced by another novelty tomorrow. Then, too, our railroad system is old enough to have educated a class of professional managers in the different departments. It is always possible to secure a good superintendent of a railroad, though he may not own a dollar's worth of the property; but we might be embarrassed to find an equally good superintendent for some special form of manufacturing. Leaving out of view the Trust and similar highly speculative stocks, we can scarcely expect to find for an indefinite time to come even a [illegible] of industrial stocks as great favorites with capitalists in the United States as are railroad securities; yet when we shall have had experience as a guide in estimating the values of plant and good-will, it seems safe to say that our business conditions eventually will make possible a reasonably safe investment in the corporate capital of those manufactories whose operations are best known and whose business is most easily followed.

THE ENEMIES OF DEMOCRACY IN GERMANY.

HANNOVER, July, 1890.

AFTER living almost a decade and a half in the United States, it has been my good fortune to revisit the Fatherland for a space of nearly three years. During my stay in America I was in due time naturalized, and became so attached to our institutions that democracy, if it means not only "I am as good as you are," but also "You are as good as I am," is now a kind of gospel with me, which I try to preach in season, and sometimes, I fear, also out of season. During my present sojourn in Germany, I have therefore been greatly interested in observing what progress this gospel is making here, and what are the obstacles in its way. The conclusion to which I have come is this—that the causes which keep a people with so strong a native superfluity of individualism and independence from advancing more rapidly on the road towards democracy are chiefly three: Militarism, officialism, and, thirdly, what may be conveniently called historicalism. There may seem to be nothing novel whatever about this conclusion. In some form or other most of us have probably reached it; whether consciously or not, makes but very little difference. Nor does it matter much what is the exact number of causes to which Germany's slow progress in democracy, or rather her present reaction towards the most conservative royalism, is traced. Pretty plain it is that militarism, officialism, and historicalism, or the *furor historicus*, are at least three of the causes of this reaction and are therefore worth considering as such.

As regards militarism, its final incompatibility with true democracy can always be predicted with certainty; and thus we have seen the democratic tide receding at the same rate at which Prussia, the most military of all German States, has been advancing and growing in power. The present condition of things is exactly that against which Miquel warned his countrymen years ago: the military, feudal spirit of the eastern provinces has conquered the more liberal modern spirit of the western. Prussia's mission was preëminently, if not exclusively, military; and what she has accomplished in this direction for Germany is beyond all calculation and worthy of everlasting gratitude. But with that, with the unification of the German States, her mission was practi-

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cally ended. The trouble—or shall I call it the irony of fate?—lay in the fact that, after finishing her own peculiar task, she was called upon to undertake a mission of peace and civilization which was entirely foreign to her. And this she has been trying to fulfil in the same rigid military spirit in which she beat back the French, conquered Alsace and Lorraine, and compelled her German allies to unite under her hegemony. Surely, it looks like irony of fate, for grand and unequalled as the Prussians are in war, as civilizers they can hardly be said to have emerged from feudalism. And yet Prussia is the Power which has been intrusted with the government, that is, with the education in liberty and in self-rule, of this noble and gifted nation! Far be it from me to put all the blame on the Prussian Government itself; half of it probably belongs to the representatives of the people who were weak enough to allow their power to be wrested from them step by step and inch by inch. We have only witnessed over again the old spectacle with which we are also quite familiar in our republic. Somebody distinguishes himself in war, becomes colonel or general, and straightway is held to be capable of managing with equal success any or all of the affairs of peace, from the smallest village post-office up to the Presidency at the White House. So with Prussia.

But there are numerous signs that the Germans are tiring of this peace in arms, and are getting their eyes open to see the inevitable financial ruin which is awaiting them if the Prussian military policy be continued. Any one who has had the opportunity of living among the real people, of talking with them and drawing them out, cannot but have been struck by the spirit of disappointment and hopelessness that pervades them. Proud enough they are, and grateful, too, that the Fatherland is one, that the visions of their poets and of the nation itself have been realized so unexpectedly and so grandly. But they also remember that unity was not the only thing they had dreamed of. There was another watchword, dearer far than unity, and expressing the very essence of what lies most deeply imbedded in that old Teutonic nature, and that was liberty.

Some good things, it was thought at the close of the Franco-Prussian war, were sure to follow for the people themselves as distinguished from the various States—a larger share in the management of their own affairs, greater freedom from the paternal control of the government; in short, more real personal liberty. Now, let any one go and inquire among the people as to these hopes. Have they been realized? Has Germany become a freer country in the sense that greater freedom of movement across the ancient boundaries of class and caste prevails? Is the people's will more respected than formerly? Have their leading-strings been at all slackened? Has the privilege of initiating movements of their own been granted them? Is the press in general more independent? Or, to put the question negatively, is the press less given to fawning and cringing before the powers that be? I am sure that none but the average German journalist and the most inveterate optimist could answer these questions with anything like a decided yes. In all the discussions that I have had with Germans, as well as with Americans who know Germany, I have found that a no came far nearer to being the true answer. And why? What is it that has checked the march of liberalism and democracy which the Germans seemed willing to take up soon after the war? It is militarism, with its artificial and exaggerated distinctions of rank, with its haughty word of command from above, and its dumb, unreasoning obedience from below, and, worse than all this, militarism with its decivilizing and even brutalizing influences upon German life in general—influences which find their strongest expression in Prussian officialism.

If three years in the army do not succeed in weaning a young German from any democratic aspirations bequeathed to him, it may be, by a father who remembers '48, it is likely to be accomplished by his return to civil life, with all its official ordinances and regulations. And this, too, is a thoroughly Prussian trait. Officialism is simply militarism with a few brass buttons less, sometimes also without the awe-inspiring helmet and the clanking sword; but only too frequently it retains all the arbitrariness and brutality of the barracks. And how could it be otherwise? Is a régime like the Prussian, which does not distinguish between governing simply for the sake of governing and governing for the sake of educating a people into self-government—is such a régime more likely, or even able, to discriminate between managing the affairs of children and administering the affairs of grown people? Certainly not. The fact is that for such a régime no grown people exist, and, with the help of the God that makes the right of kings divine, never shall exist; for if they did, there would then be no longer any honor, any dignity, attached to being an official. Hence the constant interference with the doings of the people from above, the constant cry for such interference from below; hence the insolence of office on the one side and the exaggerated regard for official station on the other, down to the very *Heiratsgesuche* of lonely maidens, young and old, with their stereotyped *Offizier oder Beamter bevorzugt.*

The number of State officials in Germany is appalling even now, but it is sure to increase for a good while to come. Their exclusiveness, and their desire to be regarded as in some way or other superior to persons who are not paid by the State, has become a matter of serious concern with not a few, and sometimes borders upon the ridiculous, as when even city mayors, aping the officials of the State, petition for the right of wearing a uniform. Indeed, it is often hard to tell whether the officials exist for the people or the people for the officials.

Not that military discipline does not go far towards training a man into habits of order, decision, and obedience, habits which are very essential to the majority of officials, for it does; but at that point mere military discipline must also stop, and if no higher course of training can be added, if no further opportunity of developing the resources of intelligence and personal initiative can be granted, we get simply the machine official of the Prussian type, possessing neither so many good qualities nor so many bad ones as his long and peculiar training would warrant us to expect, but always those qualities which arise from a circumscribed field of activity, from a stunted growth of intelligence, and from the prospect of a far-off pension to be paid by the State—qualities which are sure *not* to make for democracy.

If militarism and officialism are calculated to repress democratic tendencies in the outward German life, historicalism lends itself to combating democracy with the weapons of reason and philosophy. And what I here mean by historicalism, or the *furor historicus*, is the form which the current mania for historical research takes when applied to social and political problems. Historicalism is the exaggerated, pedantic love of history for history's sake, or that perverted belief in historical development which often amounts to downright fatalism. Its minute, microscopic search in the dust of the past has blinded and incapacitated it for a broad and bold look into the future. An historian of this sort will not say that a thing or an institution may become this or that until he has gloated, as it were, over every single step by which it has developed into what it now is. Or, if perchance he ventures to predict its further development, he is apt to disregard the factors which the present age has introduced into the problem, and keeps on figuring with the old ones only, thus arriving at the conclusion that whatever has been will also continue to be, in spite of transient indications to the contrary. For him no William Tell, neither the ideal nor the real, has ever lived and inspired the Swiss, if he cannot get hold of the hero's bow and arrow. For him a poem in which Goethe sings of "yonder mountain" loses in poetic value if he cannot locate the mountain on the map. For him, too, the wail of the millions and their confused and desperate attempts at self-help are matter for historical comparison with former ages rather than signs of an approaching change or crisis. Hence the sublime complacency with which a Treitschke defends Prussian royalism, and the summary manner in which even so excellent a philosopher as Paulsen settles the question whether a monarchy or a republic is the better form of government. As well ask, says he, whether it is better to breathe through lungs or through gills!

One must have read some of the German campaign literature and the provincial newspapers before an election or on a prince's birthday in order fully to appreciate the kind of historical padding that is being used nowadays to preserve the ancient shapeliness of royalty. Besides that, one must have talked with schoolmasters, preachers, and others who have charge of the instruction of the young. Almost everywhere the same prescribed and circumscribed views of history, combined with the most preposterous worship of royalism, particularly as embodied in the Hohenzollerns. So thoroughly has this mechanical or fatalistic notion of historical development been inculcated, and so common has it become, that it is met with at every turn. Tell a German something about America, especially about the way in which people govern themselves, and even if you do not ask him, "Why don't you try to do the same?" he will anticipate you by saying, "But America has had a very different historical development. We cannot pattern after your republican institutions; you know we are monarchists and always have been." Any insinuation that they may not always continue to be is promptly met with the same kind of cut-and-dried arguments with which people who had read Butler's 'Analogy,' Paley, and other apologists used to meet the attacks of freethinkers.

It may not be superfluous to add that I have simply tried to point out what democracy has to hope for or to fear from these three powerful factors of the present German life: militarism, officialism, and historicalism. I have not for a moment intimated that the democracy of our Republic is in all points, or even in any one of them, perfect. Heaven knows we are at times making sad enough work of our self-government, and, like the trees in the fable, are in constant danger of having the bramble instead of the vine or the fig-tree rule over us. And yet I firmly believe that, in spite of all these shortcomings and apparent failures, the goal of the evolution of more adequate forms of civilized government lies in or

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beyond democracy, and that, notwithstanding the present reaction, even Germany is sure to reach that goal. Prussian militarism and officialism will only have served as correctives of that excessive individualism and *Partikularismus* from which the Germans have suffered so much in the past. And historicalism, too, that enervating craving to know how the fates made history for us or through us in the past, will have had its day, and will give place to a worthier desire to know how men ought to make history for themselves in the present and for the future. Just now, to be sure, life in Germany seems cramped, dark, and hopeless in not a few of its aspects. Even the intellectual life, once so broad and cosmopolitan, seems to have been despoiled of some of its greatest charms by a narrow nationalism, but not, let us hope, permanently, for the real excellences of the German national character remain the same as of old, and a temporary reaction will not prevail against them. X.

REPRESENTATIVE INSTITUTIONS IN JAPAN.

TOKIO, June, 1890.

AMID the gratulations and plaudits which have attended the grant of the Japanese Constitution of 1889, we must not forget, if we would understand the conditions and historical influences amid which it is to be put in force, that its advent is but the final one of a series of events, the culmination of repeated efforts spread over the years from 1868 to 1881. To attempt to comprehend its significance in history, except in the light of the decree of 1875, the agitation of 1876-81, the decree of 1881, and the attendant circumstances, would be as great a mistake as to ignore, in considering our own Constitution of 1787, the Declaration of 1776, the ensuing struggle, and the peace of 1783. In the questions at issue there is, of course, no parallel, but in the order and relative importance of events there is not a little resemblance. As no connected account of previous efforts to establish representative institutions has, I believe, ever been published, I will venture to relate the story briefly.

The resignation of the Shogun, November 9, 1867, and the *coup d'état* in Kioto of January 3, 1868, left the Imperial party in possession of the power for which they had so long schemed and toiled. This party was led by a small band of men, composed of a few leading *kuge* (imperial nobles) and some influential *samurai*, representing three or four of the clans. The whole movement of the Restoration had practically been supported by the general body of the samurai, and the reconciliation of conflicting opinions and rival claims was a pressing question for the new leaders. It was just at this time that men began to look to the West for guidance, and to borrow attractive features of its civilization. The Western method of securing political harmony, a representative assembly, seems to have been in their minds and to have suggested the body which was speedily organized. By the famous imperial oath of April, 1868, it was promised that a parliament should be established, and all measures be decided by public opinion (though doubtless at that time the constituency to whom these privileges were to apply did not in their minds extend beyond the samurai themselves).

The plan of this assembly was under discussion for some time. The form at last fixed upon involved a representation of the samurai only, on the basis of the clan organization. Three samurai were to be sent by each large clan, two by each of medium size, and one by each small one. These delegates were appointed nominally by the daimio, but in fact by the leaders of the samurai of each clan, that is, practically by the public opinion of the clan. Their powers were meagre enough, and were deliberative only. They met first in Kioto in 1868 and discussed various subjects. The debate on the colonization of Yezo was published in the London *Times*. In April, 1869, the assembly met again, this time in Tokio. The name *Kogisho* (Office of Parliament) was given to the place of meeting, and *Gi-In* (Parliament), afterwards changed to *Shiugi In* (House of Commons), to the body itself. They debated the question of permitting partnerships between foreigners and Japanese, and of forming a new constitution, but no decided conclusions were reached.

The future of this body would doubtless have seen the gradual concession of greater powers, but its end came soon, from causes within itself. The debates showed the leaders of the Government that the samurai of the time could not be looked to to assist by political action the progress that was absolutely necessary for the nation. On motions, for instance, to abolish *hara-kiri* and the carrying of swords, the figures of the unfavorable votes were respectively 200 to 9 and 213 to 0. In the same year the Shiugi-In adjourned sine die, and was never resummoned. The truth was, that it had not been created in answer to an explicit demand, either of the people at large or of the samurai, for political rights, but rather as a means of uniting the clans by deferring in semblance to public opinion while yielding nothing of the real control; and its existence could, in the nature of things, hardly have been more than temporary.

The principle of consulting outside opinion, however (so it was given out), was to be retained. The place of the Shiugi-In was taken by the Sa-In, a sort of Senate, created in 1871, whose members were nominated by the Prime Minister. But this was in no sense a representative institution. It was regarded as a home for all kinds of visionaries; its debates were never published, and it was quite without influence. Its successor of 1875, the *Genro-In* (usually called Senate), though heralded as marking an important advance, was for a long time of little more practical consequence, and only within a few years has it shown evidences of an influence on legislation. The next essay at genuine national representation had its beginning in 1873. It came about not so much through the desire of the Government to consult public opinion as through the very need of obtaining information and advice for administrative purposes from various parts of the country. Beginning with 1872, if not earlier, uprisings in different provinces, and other signs of discontent, had made it clear that the new order of things—involving as it did changes in methods of taxation, in political status, in various customs of immemorial validity—was not to be introduced without friction. In April, 1873, Inouye, then acting Minister of Finance, called a meeting of the provincial governors, to listen to their views upon the pressing administrative problems. They seem to have accomplished nothing definite, but this meeting of 1873 was the germ of an institution which, from 1875 onwards, occupied the place of a national assembly, and, nominally at least, did not end its existence until the present year.

This body was the *Chihokwan Kwaigi* (Parliament of Local Officials). Along with the distress and discontent of the time, there had been naturally some talk of a representative assembly as the balm of all evils. Late in 1873 the resignation of Itagaki, Soyejima, Goto, and others, on the question of war with Corea, gave them a chance to utilize the situation, and in January, 1874, they presented a memorial calling for a national assembly as the one means of governing smoothly. They did not, of course, escape the reproach (certainly unmerited by some of them) that their discovery of the crying need of the country occurred strangely soon after their departure from office. But their memorial was widely read, and gave a countenance to the agitation which powerfully assisted it. It is noticeable, however, that the memorialists were unable to take their stand on charges of oppression of any sort, but claimed simply that an assembly would educate the people, concentrate public opinion, and strengthen the Government. The *Kwaigi* was already in contemplation by the Ministry, and early in 1875 came its establishment. When the change of constitution was made by which the Genro-In took the place of the Sa-In, and the *Daishin-In* (Supreme Court) was created, the same decree contained the following provision: "We also call a council of the officials of our provinces, so that the feelings of the people may be made known and the public welfare attained. By these means we shall gradually confer upon the nation a constitutional form of government. The provincial officials are summoned as the representatives of the people in the various provinces, that they may express their opinion on behalf of the people."

The Kwaigi (sometimes called *Gi-In*) met in July, 1875, at the *Hongwanji* (a temple), and was hailed as a decisive token that the promise of 1868 was in process of fulfilment. It consisted, of course, of appointed officials only, but the Government treated it as the mouthpiece of the people, and undoubtedly regarded the method of selection of its members as only temporary. An imperial speech opened the session, and the able Kido (the "brain and pen" of the Restoration) was appointed *Gi-cho* (President). There were seventy delegates, who were either governors or their deputies. Rules of procedure had already been drawn up by the Government. The results of this first session were not at all promising. The Assembly had no initiative. It occupied most of its time in discussing a system of roads and bridges laid before it by the Government. The meetings were not opened to the public or to the press, and the publication of the debates by the Government did not mitigate the general dissatisfaction which this caused. The Assembly itself showed a conservatism which did not tend to commend it to the people. In a discussion on the proposition to establish a national representative assembly, the vote was to constitute it of *ku-cho* and *ko-cho* (county and town mayors, appointed by the Government). At the same time its influence was weakened by contrast with the action of some of the citizens of local prominence, who had been brought up to Tokio by the governors to assist with their advice. These met and drew up a memorial asking for an assembly founded on popular election.

These and other events combined to doom the Kwaigi from the beginning as a body which would not be accepted by the people in place of a popular assembly, even as a basis for further development. Indeed, the withdrawal of Itagaki (for he had reëntered the Government in 1874) for the second and last time in 1875 was upon the express issue whether the Kwaigi should be accepted, even temporarily, as a substitute. Itagaki thenceforward dedicated himself to the cause of popular representation, and the movement for it now began in earnest. The Kwaigi was not called

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together in 1876, because of the Emperor's extended journey to the north, said the Government; because the Government was afraid to allow the popular discontent to receive utterance, said others. With Itagaki and Saigo in secession, the very existence of the Government—practically made up of the little band of able men who had achieved the Restoration—was threatened. All sorts of charges were rife of official misgovernment and corruption. In the midst of all came the Satsuma rebellion. Every one knows of Saigo's failure. But it was Itagaki who, having no different causes of complaint and standing in no different attitude towards the Government, avoided brave, blunt Saigo's blunder—the resort to arms—and, with Tosa shrewdness, struck a note to which the nation responded as they did not and could not to Saigo's. When the Government sent to Itagaki, in 1877, at the time that he was raising troops "for the protection of Tosa," as he said, and asked whether his intentions were hostile, he replied: "Not if you guarantee the establishment of a popular assembly."

His society, the *Risshi-sha*, which had been formed in the preceding year and had for its object the establishment of a national assembly, spread far and wide. Its memorial of June 14, 1877, making eight specific charges of misgovernment and praying for representative institutions, has, by some, been considered one of the most important political documents since the Restoration, and certainly puts the case as favorably as can be for the popular cause.* A society on a similar basis, the *Aikoku-* (Patriotic) *sha*, was started by Itagaki in Osaka in 1878. By the next year the *Aikoku-sha* had branches in fourteen provinces, and was said to have over 13,000 members. The agitation went on with the greatest activity. In one district the Risshi-sha gave lectures daily to audiences of hundreds. They set songs of the French Revolution to Japanese airs, and even the children sang them in the streets. An old saying was remembered that "Liberty shall spring forth from the forests of Tosa," and its prophetic meaning was now seen.

Amid this fervor of feeling, the second meeting of the Kwaigi, in April, 1878, received little attention from the people. On this occasion reporters were admitted, but a new cause of complaint was found in that the President (Ito, then Minister of Public Works) was again appointed by the Government, not chosen by the members. That most important measure, the Local Assembly Act of 1878, was passed in this session, but even this proof of the readiness of the Government to establish popular institutions as soon as needed did not satisfy the popular clamor. The Kwaigi we may here dismiss from our attention, noting that it met again in 1880, omitting both 1879 and 1881, and that in 1882 a decree provided for the holding of an annual session until the national Parliament should assemble.

The agitation now took (1880) the form of petitions and memorials. From all parts of the country these were showered upon the Government. They bore thousands of signatures, representing all classes. Even women, wives of influential men, employed agents to canvass for signatures. The hotels in Tokio increased from 414 in 1879 to 1,605 in 1880, owing, it is said, to the presence of so many persons bringing petitions for a national assembly. Some of the nobles began to advocate it. By the end of 1880 it was rumored that all but two or three of the Ministry were favorable. It is certain that throughout the year the subject had been under discussion in that body, and that there existed a division of opinion. A draft constitution, said to be circulating among the societies, was made public. Finally, on October 12, 1881, came the well-known decree establishing a parliament in 1890.

This result was apparently a foregone conclusion, for all the members of the then Ministry, excepting perhaps the Satsuma men, were only delaying matters until they felt sure that the country was ripe for popular institutions. But the circumstances immediately responsible for the decree were as follows: To Okuma, then Minister of Finance (and undoubtedly one of the four or five ablest of the Restoration statesmen, and in some ways the cleverest of them), the crisis seemed to present a tempting opportunity to gain popularity for himself and at the same time to restore to some extent the waning influence of the Hizen clan in the Government; for now that Eto and Soyejima were gone, Oki and Okuma alone represented Hizen, and its power had diminished. Accordingly, just before the Emperor's departure for the North in the fall of 1881, Okuma laid before him a proposition for the establishment of a national assembly within six months. To this, of course, his colleagues would never agree. On the very night of the Emperor's return (till then the subject had necessarily been postponed) a protracted session took place, and at two o'clock in the morning the decree was agreed on establishing the Parliament, but not for nine years to come. But Okuma had gained his point; and, accepting with satisfaction his expected defeat, immediately resigned office, threw himself upon the country, and was able to fulfil his hopes and to form a political party which is to-day one of the most powerful political influences in the nation, as well as his own most efficient ally.

The moving cause of the grant of the Constitution seems clearly to have been the agitation of 1876–'81. But just how far the clamor arose from a thoroughly national emotion, just how far it was factitious, just how far it was the work of professional agitators—on these questions it is difficult to reach a conclusion. It is the opinion of Mr. Fukuzawa (than whom there could certainly be no keener or more impartial observer) that "not only has parliamentary representation not been conceded in consequence of any general demand on the part of the people, but that it has been given voluntarily, so far as concerns the great mass of the nation." That is to say, "the temporary agitation on the subject" was "a display of enthusiasm confined to a very limited circle, being merely a piece of strategy, wrought by various sections of the then unemployed *shizoku* (samurai)." To corroborate such a weighty opinion we have the undoubted fact that the *heimin* (commoners) of Japan have always been politically passive and indifferent, not greatly moved by sentiments of self-respect and self-assertion, and that a recognized problem has been that of educating them up to their rights, private as well as public. Yet, even if we cannot reasonably suppose them to have originated a broad political movement, we can at any rate believe that under the lead of the shizoku they would understand the issue and join in the protest. Certainly, to judge by appearances, there must have been a participation of some sort on their part. The Government, too, must have believed to some extent in these appearances, for the promise of 1881 was undoubtedly drawn forth by the agitation.

Mr. Fukuzawa, however, explains their action on the theory that they were aware of the ferment existing among the younger educated men as well as the samurai of the Restoration, who had never been admitted to taste official power, and were willing to provide a "national palaver" as a harmless place in which their efforts could be expended. Perhaps we cannot, with our present sources of information, venture much beyond this. It should be conceded, on the one hand, that the people as a whole took a real part in the movement; on the other hand, it is probable that the true grievances for the redressing of which a national assembly might properly have been looked to, were those of the shizoku alone, and that the mass of the people, harassed by economic difficulties for which the Government itself was not responsible, had no real occasion to demand representative rights, except on grounds of abstract justice and political theory which were not appreciated by them, and *a fortiori* could not be urged in their favor.

The genesis of the Japanese Constitution, then, is not to be explained according to the categories of European experience. It was neither wrested by the nation nor withheld by the Government. The people grew up to it, not the Government down to it. Historically it does not signify a safeguard against oppression, but a means of bringing the methods of government into accord with the popular wish. It was not the surrender of inherited power by an autocrat or an aristocracy to a plebs; it was (in token, of course, rather than in fulfilment) the relinquishment to a people of power hitherto held in trust for them by a self-chosen body of their own number until they should arrive at political majority.

JOHN H. WIGMORE.

*There is a translation in U. S. Pub. Docs., Foreign Relations, 1877, No. 204.

Correspondence.

HARRIET SHELLEY AND CATHERINE NUGENT.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: In the *Nation*, Nos. 1249 and 1250, June 6 and 13, 1889, appeared copies of twenty-three letters from Harriet Shelley to Catherine Nugent, which I had transcribed some years before from the originals. I expressed the opinion, "It is probable the originals have been destroyed." Fortunately they were discovered. They are now in the possession of Prof. Dowden. In my transcription, in retranscription for the *Nation*, and in putting into type, it was inevitable that minor errors should creep in. Prof. Dowden permits me to make use of his collation of the *Nation* with the originals. I append such errata as are of any importance. Most would have been avoided if I had, as I should have, compared the copies visually, not orally.

Letter III. Line 23, for "mist" read "rain."

Letter IV. Line 2, for "North" read "South." Last line, for "Baneichs" Prof. Dowden suggests "Barracks."

Letter V. Line 25, for [*sic*] read "go." Line 32, for "astounding" read "astonishing."

Letter VI. Line 68, for [*sic*] read "been."

Letter VII. Line 55, for "write" read "wish."

Letter VIII. Line 36, for "Irishwoman" read "Irishman."

Letter IX. Line 67, for "enough" read "a little."

Letter X. Line 12, for "are" read "were." Line 29, for "once" read "twice."

Letter XI. Line 54, for "plantiff" read "plantive." Lines 68 and 70, "Tory" and "Tories" read "Wig" and "Wigs" [*sic*].

Letter XIII. Line 11, for "stopped" read "stepped in."

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Letter XIV. Line 22, for "he" read "we."

Letter XVII. Line 5, after "next" insert "spring." Line 11, for "immeasurably" read "unusually."

Letter XVIII. Line 30, for "was" read "were."

Letter XX. Line 39, for "heavily" read "keenly."

Letter XXI. Line 15, for "secure" read "seduce."

Letter XXII. Line 25, for "am about" read "mean."

I regret that these notes should be necessary.

ALFRED WEBB.

DUBLIN, July 10, 1890.

TALLEYRAND AND GABRIEL PERREY.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: In the *Nation* of July 17, in speaking of Talleyrand's Memoirs, we read: "One theory is, that they may have come [fragments of the Memoirs] from a collection in the possession of a rascally secretary of Talleyrand's who is long since dead"; and, further on: "Talleyrand's faithless secretary was a certain M. Perret, to whom for more than thirty years Talleyrand had given his entire confidence. He discharged him at last, and from that time on—that is, for the last fifteen years of his life—he was in constant dread of the mischief he might make."

The name of Talleyrand's private secretary was Gabriel de Perrey, a member of an old and most honorable noble family of Franche-Comté. Like almost all the members of his family, he never used the *de* as a prefix to his name. He was not discharged by Talleyrand, but he declined to accompany Talleyrand to London when Louis Philippe appointed Talleyrand Ambassador to England, on account of his age and infirmities.

His position of private secretary of such a man as Talleyrand brought him constant demands for information from many quarters; and he was tempted more than once, and by high political personages (French as well as foreigners, more especially English statesmen), with reference to several questions and historical events in which Talleyrand played an important part. Never were any notes or papers furnished by him to anybody. A more scrupulously honest secretary than M. Gabriel Perrey has seldom served a great diplomat, and until the death of Talleyrand he was constantly in friendly communication with him.

Perrey was a tall man, with a most intelligent face, a fine physique, a gentleman in every way. His only weakness—a family weakness—was a special taste for good old French wines; and sometimes, at a choice dinner party, he would indulge, perhaps, beyond reasonable bounds. Those who tried to get secrets out of him, knowing his weakness, made use of it, more than once, and got in that way a few indiscretions—*in vino veritas*—which very likely were worked up by others. But as soon as he was sober, Perrey denied all knowledge of the matter.

The last time I saw Gabriel Perrey was in 1839 at Salins, Franche-Comté, a few years before his death. The conversation turned on the famous Col. Oudet, the chief of the secret society the "Philadelphes," an old and intimate friend of Perrey and his family. Being then a young man, I was all ears, and I remember distinctly Perrey saying that Oudet was massacred, with almost all the officers of his regiment, on the evening of the battle of Wagram; that he had fallen into an ambuscade, prepared to annihilate all the chiefs of that secret society, which had many members in the army, more especially among the soldiers and officers of the Army of the Rhine commanded by Gen. Moreau. He added: "If Gen. Mallet had been successful in his conspiracy against Napoleon in 1812, Gen. Lecourbe, a Philadelphe, would have been the military dictator of a French Republic until the return of Moreau from New York."

Perrey knew the inside of many questions and many of the secrets of the Consulate, Empire, and Restoration; and his memoirs, if any exist (which is not likely, for he was a very reserved person), would be most interesting.

J. MARCOU.

CAMBRIDGE, MASS.

THE THREE-YEARS' UNIVERSITY COURSES.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: To those who have had anything to do with the management of Canadian universities, it seems not a little singular that there should be so much controversy over the proposal to allow Harvard students to take a degree in arts in three years. In the University of Toronto, the immemorial practice has been to let the student take either a three or a four-years course, as best suited himself. There are two regular matriculation examinations, the junior and the senior, and the latter corresponds exactly to the examination at the end of the first academic year. A considerable proportion of candidates for matriculation have always preferred the senior entrance test, their aim being to proceed as soon as possible with advanced university work, and to turn that work as quickly and effectually as possible into a means of professional advancement.

Whether a three-years university course may be made as effective as a four-years course for purposes of culture, depends very largely on the character of secondary education. In the Province of Ontario we have what may fairly claim to be one of the best systems of secondary schools in the world, and the best of these schools can do much more for a first-year university man in some ways than any university can do. Their school year lasts from the first of September to the first of July, and as the matriculation examination takes place after the latter date, the candidate may get in school a longer preparation. He may also get a more thorough one, for in universities there is apt to be less individuality in the treatment of students than there is in well-conducted schools.

I have used the term "university" in our own sense of it, namely, as connoting an institution which educates candidates for the degree of B.A. As we have no post-graduate universities, we are not troubled with the necessity of distinguishing between a teaching university and a degree-conferring college.

WM. HOUSTON.

TORONTO, July 15, 1890.

ONE-MAN POWER.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Measuring everything by one standard, I find myself applying it to the case of Speaker Reed and the interesting article of X. M. C. in the *North American Review*, which has elicited such high praise from the papers. Of course, it pulverizes Mr. Reed as far as logic and constitutional law go, but what else does it even tend to accomplish? The Speaker holds his place, for the duration of this Congress, by the choice of the majority of the House, and though he may have committed what in another century would have been called high treason, no earthly power can touch him, except a similar majority which is firmly held by the Democrats. It may be said that his course tends to destroy the future supremacy of the Republican party. But is that so clear? The Republican party, as shown by its every act in the last year, has deliberately chosen force and fraud as the means of perpetuating its rule. Its leaders are, politically speaking, sagacious men; and as far as success goes, and with the way in which our Government is carried on, it is by no means certain that they have not made a wise choice.

The last *Contemporary Review* contains a striking article, by M. Gabriel Monod, on "French Affairs," in which he says: "The history of the last two years has made it abundantly plain that the masses of the people are not to be satisfied with purely anonymous government. The State must be symbolized for them under the form of some man whom they can love, admire, and applaud." That is just as true of the United States as of France.

It may be doubted whether the Republicans have not gained more by putting forward a strong personality like Mr. Reed, than they have lost by the irregular methods he has adopted. A few thousands may read with indignation X. M. C.'s article. Hundreds of thousands, not to say millions, wholly unable to appreciate the constitutional argument, will be delighted at the appearance of an individual who, by sheer force of will, can make business in Congress move along.

The position of the Speaker in general is an illustration of the necessity of some leader in such a body as the House. The committees, which are its working machinery, must be created, and if by election, the process would be much more cumbrous, and much less certain to produce a purely partisan result. Hence the power of appointment was given to the Speaker, making him, instead of an impartial presiding officer, at once the most powerful man in the Government and the blindest tool of party, with almost complete freedom from responsibility. Mr. Reed's course this winter is only one more step in the continuous development of as dangerous a one-man power as could easily be imagined.

If Congress must have leaders, who ought they to be? Why, the Cabinet officers, who alone represent, through the President, the whole nation, and who are intrusted with executive work which just as much includes the conduct of business in Congress as the administration of the Post-office or the Mint. If this was the condition of things, such action as Mr. Reed's this winter would be wholly impossible, first, because the Speaker would hold the splendid position of the corresponding officer in the British House of Commons, or, for that matter, of the moderator in a New England town meeting—that of an impartial mediator, knowing no party, and equally respected by both sides; and secondly, because, while the party majority now tends constantly more and more to uphold its elected Speaker in the most outrageous usurpations, including the gagging of the minority, both sides would be always ready to join in resisting encroachment by the Executive. In fact, their combined hostility from the very start would be almost irresistible, were it not that, as the conflict would be carried on in full view of the public, a cabinet of competent men would, so long as they were careful to keep right on their side, have a compensating advantage in the simple but powerful element of personality.

G. B.

BOSTON, July 19, 1890.

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Notes.

THE Baker & Taylor Co. publish immediately 'Talks with Ralph Waldo Emerson,' by Charles J. Woodbury, with a hitherto unpublished portrait.

Robert Clarke & Co., Cincinnati, have in press 'Abraham Lincoln's Pen and Voice,' an indexed compilation by C. M. Van Buren; and 'The Antiquities of Tennessee and the Adjacent States,' by Gates P. Thruston.

D. Appleton & Co. have nearly ready 'Expatriation,' a novel and a study of Anglomania.

D. C. Heath & Co., Boston, will add to their series of German texts 'Selections from Heine's Poems,' edited by Prof. Horatio S. White of Cornell.

Mr. W. J. Loftie, the learned historian of London, and the author of an elaborate work on the parish of Kensington, is preparing 'London City: its People, Streets, Traffic, Buildings, History,' which will contain some two hundred and fifty illustrations from drawings by Mr. W. Luker, jr. It will be published by Field & Tuer.

A Centenary Lexical Concordance to the Poems of Shelley that will rival in bulk Schmidt's 'Shakspere Lexicon,' is to be published by Bernard Quaritch on Aug. 4, 1892.

From the Clarendon Press (New York: Macmillan) has now issued the third and last volume of the fourth edition of G. F. Chambers's 'Handbook of Descriptive and Practical Astronomy.' We have already characterized this the most extended treatise of a general nature in the English language. The third volume, "The Starry Heavens," runs somewhat thin in comparison with the foregoing, as if the author had tired of his labor. It is largely occupied with a great variety of catalogues of stars and other celestial objects, and there is an index to the entire work.

Mr. Edward A. Samuels's 'With Fly-rod and Camera' (*Forest and Stream* Publishing Co.) is an illustrated account of the experiences of the writer in angling for salmon, sea-trout, and winninish in various streams of Canada and Maine. The illustrations are, as the title indicates, photographic, and, besides the very grave though common defect of being in most instances unrelated to the adjacent text, are many of them so poorly taken as to make one think that Mr. Samuels either did not know what he should, or did not care what he did, put in his book. The text is interesting and well written, consisting almost entirely of personal reminiscences of various salmon and trout rivers. The so-called land-locked salmon, variously known as the Schoodic or Sebago salmon and winninish, is the subject of parts of several chapters, and much useful as well as pleasing information is given concerning him. We can recommend the book as good reading for any lover of angling.

'The Lazy Tour of Two Idle Apprentices,' written by Dickens and Wilkie Collins in collaboration, and published in *Household Words* as a holiday number, has not hitherto been reprinted. It is now published in a volume with 'No Thoroughfare' and 'The Perils of Certain English Prisoners,' both having the same double authorship, and both being now reprinted for the first time in full.

Psychical influences, long recognized in the causation and the cure of disease, are receiving a new impulse under the collective name of hypnotism, to which increasing attention has been paid in the last ten or fifteen years. The charlatanry of Mesmer brought disrepute upon his facts as well as upon his theory, and the phrase "animal magnetism" became equivalent to an expression of quackery. But the scientific investigation of Braid (1842), and the numerous surgical operations of Esdaile (*circa* 1850) under this induced anæsthesia, were preludes, although with long intervals, to the studies and practice of Liébault, Charcot, Bernheim, and Florel. At this time hypnotism is an assured fact, with marked powers for good over a wide range, and with dangerous possibilities for evil in morals as well as in health. Both foci of this ellipse are clearly explained in 'Hypnotism,' by Fredrik Björnström, M.D., translated from the second Swedish edition by Baron Nils Posse, M.G. (New York: The Humboldt Publishing Co.).

'Cradle and Nursery,' by Mrs. Herrick (Harpers) is a prose proverbial philosophy of infancy reprinted from *Harper's Bazar*. Because it strains no one's receptivity, it is probably popular, and as it is true it is commendable. Mrs. Dacre Craven's 'Guide to District Nurses' (Macmillan) is a little book full of concise and clear advice for the care of the sick poor of crowded cities, and particularly admirable in not requiring special appliances nor contemplating impossibilities. 'A Manual of Nursing,' by Laurence Humphry, M.B., etc. (Philadelphia: Blakiston), is bald and pedantic, and of no use for the object in view.

One after another the contributors to the Paris *Figaro* are collecting their weekly articles. M. Albert Wolff, M. Bergerat, M. Fouquier, M. Vitu, M. Blavet have put their journalism into books as though it were literature. Finally, M. Philippe Gille, who prepares what passes (in the *Figaro*) for literary criticism, has begun a series called 'La Bataille Littéraire' (Paris: Victor-Havard; New York: F. W. Christern), to contain the few lines of obvious comment by which he has been wont to piece together abundant extracts from the book of the week for the Saturday supplement of the *Figaro*.

'A Waif of the Plains,' 'A Yankee at the Court of King Arthur,' and 'The Heritage of Dedlow Marsh' are the latest American books reprinted in the Tauchnitz series. But that Baron Tauchnitz still chooses to appeal to the purely British audience, one might expect, besides Mr. Hamerton's papers on 'French and English,' to see added to the series the acute and interesting 'French Traits' of Mr. Brownell.

The editions by Dr. Ferdinand Tönnies, the well-known sociologist, of Hobbes's 'Behemoth' and 'Elements of Law' (London: Simpkin, Marshall & Co.), deserve to be recommended as very helpful college text-books for instruction in history and political science—the former, a report by an eye-witness of the Civil War from 1640 to 1660; the latter, of which Diderot said, "C'est un livre à lire et à commenter toute sa vie," a most lucid exposition of the fundamental principles of Hobbes's philosophy. Both treatises appear here for the first time in such a manner as to satisfy the demands of modern text criticism.

The picture of Goethe's mother, although familiar to us from Bettina's sketches and from Goethe's own recollections in 'Dichtung und Wahrheit,' has only now received its final touch through the publication, by Bernhard Suphan, of her letters to her son, daughter-in-law, and grandson ('Schriften der Goethe-Gesellschaft,' vol. iv.). One does not need to be initiated into the mysteries of that strange science called "Goethephilologie," to take delight in this pure draught from the fountain of classic German literature; and it is to be hoped that a Sainte-Beuve or a Herman Grimm will be inspired by it to give us the long looked-for biography of a woman who, as she herself said, like Cæsar, would tolerate none but cheerful faces at her court, and to whom her son owed a gift which she described thus: "Meine Gabe, die mir Gott gegeben hat, ist eine lebendige Darstellung aller Dinge die in mein Wissen einschlagen, Grosses und Kleines, Wahrheit und Märchen: so wie ich in einen Zirkel komme, wird alles froh und heiter, weil ich erzähle."

There has recently appeared 'Les Inscriptions de Salmaneser II., Roi d'Assyrie, 860-824 B. C.,' by A. Amiaud and V. Scheil (Paris, H. Welter). The work consists of a transliteration and translation of all the texts of the king, together with the other Assyrian texts thus far known which have reference to his reign. Such a work has a considerable value for the historical student, both because of its completeness and from the fact that the various portions of the texts relating to the same period are placed together. Appended is a valuable philological commentary, showing at times much acuteness and originality, and an index of proper names. All Assyriologists will no doubt regret the absence of an index to the words of the text. The text of the Black Obelisk contains many new readings, and, both in this regard as well as in the translation, exhibits a marked advance over the recent work on the same subject of Drs. Winckler and Peiser. As this is probably the last work we shall see bearing the name of Arthur Amiaud, we cannot let the opportunity go by of expressing the profound regret of all Oriental scholars at his untimely death in Paris just one year ago. His loss left a void not only among French scholars, but in the entire school of scientific Assyrian workers, which it will take years to fill.

In the midsummer number of *Puck*, the editor, Mr. H. C. Bunner, begins a series of brief semi-humorous, semi-pathetic sketches called "Short Sixes: Stories to be told while the Candle Burns." They are to be illustrated by Mr. C. J. Taylor. Of late, Mr. Bunner's chief contributions to the weekly he edits have been his direct and incisive editorials on current politics, and his fiction has more generally been printed in one or other of the magazines. The first sketch, "Col. Brereton's Aunty," gives promise of an entertaining series.

The July Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society contains the annual address on the progress of geography by the President, Sir M. E. Grant Duff, and the report of Mr. Mackinder, Reader in Geography at Oxford, showing an increase of interest in this study at the University. Two courses of lectures were given on the Historical and the Physical Aspects of Geography, the former being much more largely attended than the latter. There is also a paper on the Solomon Islands, by Mr. C. M. Woodford, which is principally devoted to notes on their discovery by the Spanish expedition of Mendaña in 1567–'69. An excellent map accompanies the paper, showing the track of the Spanish vessels and the names which they gave to the islands and places visited.

The *Scottish Geographical Magazine* for July opens with Mr. Stanley's address to the Society. This is followed by a paper descriptive of a voyage inland from Canton made some years ago by Dr. W. G. Dickson. There is also an admirably clear political sketch-map of Equatorial Africa by the well-known cartographer Mr. J. G. Bartholomew, showing the new boundaries according to Lord Salisbury's despatch of June 14, 1890. It is hardly necessary to say that it entirely ignores the Portuguese claims to the "Hinterland," both that back of their possessions on the Mozambique

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coast, as well as that rich country watered by the Kasai lying to the east of Angola.

The second and last volume of that original publication, 'Les Ports du Monde Entier' (Paris: Librairie Scientifique et Économique; New York: F. W. Christern), has been begun with *fascicules* 1 and 2, and starts off with America, leaving Asia, Africa, and Australia to follow later. Montreal is the first port to be described and illustrated, then Quebec, Halifax, St. John, Boston, New York, etc. There are some queer transformations of familiar names, as Bunkerhill-Obelisk, Common-Park (Boston Common), Brooklyn-Brücke (!), etc, and Franklin is wrested from his birthplace in Milk Street, Boston, and made to lend an "historic interest" to Governor's Island. The work attempts to combine statistics with literary form and readableness.

Mr. William S. Baker has undertaken a much-needed itinerary of Gen. Washington during the War of Independence, or from June 15, 1775, to December 23, 1783. The first instalment appears in the *Pennsylvania Magazine of American History* for July. Apt citation of authority for each stage makes the reading of this diary very pleasant and instructive.

Part II. of the 'Handy Lists of Technical Literature,' compiled by E. K. Kaferkorn and Paul Heise (Milwaukee, Wis.: National Publishing and Printing Co.) comes to us with the endorsement of Mr. Linderfelt, Librarian of the Milwaukee Public Library. It embraces military and naval science, navigation and ship-building in all forms, etc., and furnishes a supplementary list of non-technical books illustrating the life of soldier and sailor, and lists of pertinent periodicals. A Key to publishers accompanies the List.

A one-year's course in the History and Principles of Education will be given at Clark University from October, 1890, to June, 1891, by President Hall and Dr. Wm. H. Burnham, Docent in Education. The historical exposition will deal respectively with antiquity, the middle ages, and the present time, and will be followed up by philosophical conclusions and practical applications, with American needs in view.

The eleventh annual conference of the American Library Association will be held at the Fabyan House, White Mountains, from September 9 to 13. Library trustees are particularly invited to be present.

The fourth International Black and White Exposition will be held in the Pavillon de la Ville de Paris (Champs-Élysées) from October 1 to November 30. Pastels and water-colors will be included. President Carnot offers a *prix d'honneur*, and the Director, M. E. Bernard, a travelling purse of 500 francs. M. Bernard's address is 71 rue de La Condamine.

The Harvard College Observatory gives notice that it is empowered by Miss C. W. Bruce to distribute $6,000 during the present year in aid of astronomical research, in sums not exceeding $500 each, as a rule. Applications must be made to the Director, Prof. E. C. Pickering, before October 1, and he will also be glad of suggestions as to the best mode of meeting the donor's wishes.

—A more striking case of maladministration of public funds could hardly be found than that of which Mr. Edward Cummings tells the story in the July issue of the Harvard *Quarterly Journal of Economics*. Mr. Cummings contributes a review of the history and promise of coöperative production in France and England, and caps the narrative for the former country by an account of the legacy which Benjamin Rampal left to the city of Paris in 1878 for the aid of coöperative societies. The legacy amounted in all to 1,500,000 francs, and a first instalment of 400,000 francs became available in 1883. This large sum was loaned to forty-nine societies. The results, as gathered from an official statement of December, 1889, are summarized thus:

"There are fifteen societies still to be heard from whose time of repayment has not yet expired, their joint loans amounting to 196,950 francs. Three are actually behindhand—14,250 francs; eighteen are either in process of liquidation, or have already dissolved and disappeared—132,250 francs; seven are bankrupt—89,900 francs; and six societies only, representing the modest sum of 13,950 francs, have met their obligations. . . . The sums lost or compromised are nearly half the total loan of 447,200 francs, a percentage of loss which is simply astonishing when it is remembered that 196,950 francs are not yet due, and that the losses really represent an enormous proportion of the 250,250 francs actually in question."

This discouraging outcome is not surprising when one reads of the attitude of the municipal officials towards the coöperators, and, indeed, towards all aspirants in the ranks of "labor." The coöperative societies are coddled and encouraged; they are preferred in public contracts, and at the same time freed from the guarantees usually required of public contractors; in the official report they are excused for failure because of "the redoubled energy of competing houses" and "the distrust of their customers." The report states that the loans were made to societies selected on the grounds of "their constitutions already tried, their interior organization, and the professional merit of their members"; but it is obvious that in fact they were made indiscriminately and almost eagerly to the first applicants for the spoils. Conditions of this sort are not likely to bring out the moral fibre indispensable for a successful coöperation, and the Rampal legacy so far has only added to the long list of coöperative failures.

—'Zur Gutturalfrage im Gotischen' (Boston, 1889) is a doctor's dissertation of ninety pages presented to the Faculty of the University of Zürich by Miss Helen L. Webster of Boston. The dissertation is a purely scientific contribution to the history of the labialization of the guttural, concerning which there is among philologists a diversity of opinion. Grassmann, in 1860, opened the discussion with the assumption that the process of labialization was already present in the original language, and that the absence of the labial affection in the different Indo-Germanic languages is to be explained by a subsequent disappearance. Miss Webster considers the question solely from the standpoint of Gothic. She shows that if the labial affection is absent in the other labialized languages, it is also absent in Gothic; and that it enters in Gothic not only not initially, but in no part of the word before consonants. Comprehensively stated, the result arrived at is, that Gothic "has retained unchanged almost without exception, as regards this question, the phonetic condition existent in preceding Germanic." To establish this point it has been necessary to determine the character of the guttural wherever it occurs in the whole Gothic vocabulary, and to distinguish whether the presence or absence of the labial affection is, or is not, dependent upon specific laws. The whole historical etymology of the words, so far as it is known, is, accordingly, given with the use of complete subsidia. The dissertation is a thoroughly scholarly and conclusive treatise upon the special point selected, and well merits for itself the *summa cum laude* with which the doctor's degree was bestowed upon its author. Since her return, Miss Webster has delivered a course of five lectures on the "Study of Philology" at Barnard College. More recently, she has been called to Wellesley College to fill in that institution the new chair of Comparative Philology.

—M. Kayserling, so well known for his researches into the history of the Spanish and Portuguese Jews, has laid this department of study under a new obligation by the production of a 'Biblioteca Española-Portuguesa-Judaica' (Strassburg: K. J. Trübner). This handsome volume consists of an introduction on the literature of the Spanish Jews, the bibliography (including a large number of MS. works), a list of Jewish-Spanish journals (among them we notice one in the City of Mexico founded last year), Spanish writings against the Jews, a collection of the proverbs of the Spanish Jews, and three carefully prepared indices. When Spain was conquered from the Saracens, the Jews of the country, and especially of Castile and Aragon, rapidly replaced the Arabic with the Spanish language. It is said that a Spanish translation of the book of Esther was made in the thirteenth century; by order of Alphonso X., three Jewish scholars translated some works on astrology from Arabic into the vernacular. From that time until their expulsion in 1492, the Jews of Spain produced works of permanent literary value and scientific interest. With the expulsion they settled in many places—Constantinople, Egypt, Italy, Rumania, Amsterdam, London—and for centuries continued to use, to some degree at least, the Spanish language. In northern Africa the Jews have preserved the Spanish of the fifteenth century; and they developed, probably before the expulsion, a dialect called Ladino, which has much interest for Romance philologists.

—M. Berthelot, the Perpetual Secretary of the French Academy of Sciences, has just published, through the house of M. Alcan, a new work, of which the title is 'La Révolution Chimique: Lavoisier.' It appears from M. Berthelot's preface, which is printed in the *Temps* of June 12, that the biographers of Lavoisier have been singularly tardy and belated in their work. No account of his life has ever, for instance, been read before the Institute. M. Dumas, who was for many years at the head of French chemistry, and who was a fervent admirer of Lavoisier, undertook early in life a biography of him, and the editorship of the official edition of his complete works. But beyond some few enthusiastic pages in his 'Leçons de Philosophie Chimique,' which besides are "more eloquent, perhaps, than exact," he did not, so far as writing the biography went, realize his intentions. It was not till 1888 that the documents relating to the life of Lavoisier were collected by M. Grimaud and published by Félix Alcan. M. Berthelot gives much praise to Grimaud's book, but says that it is essentially biographical, and so devotes but little space to the methodical exposition of Lavoisier's discoveries and to critical appreciation of their value. This lack he undertakes to supply in his own book. One feature of M. Berthelot's volume cannot fail to be of considerable interest. Lavoisier, left behind him thirteen volumes of laboratory notes, running in date from February 20, 1782, to October 23, 1788. They have never been published, but have been kept in the archives of the Academy. They contain records more or less complete of the manifold labors and researches of their author during those active years. Sometimes they are minute and precise, some-

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times mere hints and jottings. Of course, no new discoveries of great value will be found in them, for Lavoisier published his discoveries in his lifetime; but they will show very clearly his methods of work, the attempts that failed as well as those that succeeded, the growth of his discoveries from their first faint conception in his mind till they came to full birth. These registers M. Berthelot has carefully gone through, and he gives a methodical analysis of them, transcribing also in full all the passages wherein Lavoisier records his personal feelings and thoughts and impressions. This part of his book will be, in fact, a history of Lavoisier's mind—the psychology of a savant.

—We have our share in the widespread regret caused by the death in Venice, on July 16, of Eugene Schuyler, Consul-General of the United States at Cairo. Mr. Schuyler began to write for the *Nation* with its ninth number, and our issue of last week contained a brief contribution from his pen, in the letter accompanying which he spoke of his impaired health, though by no means discouragingly. From 1865 to 1890 he was, amid all his changes of residence and with occasional silences, a member of the *Nation's* staff, the sum of his writing being very considerable. In 1888 and 1889 his activity redoubled, and our readers can hardly have forgotten the striking series of letters from Italy on Dickens in Genoa, Milton's Leonora, Mrs. Browning, Shelley and Byron, Smollett, Samuel Rogers, Hawthorne, George Sand, Mme. de Genlis, Mme. de Staël, Canova, Carducci and Dante—to mention no others. His diplomatic career is reflected in the articles and reviews furnished to the *Nation* during the quarter-century just elapsed. "The Progress of Russia in Asia" is the title of one printed in No. 42, not long before he was made Consul at Moscow, a post from which he soon advanced to be Secretary of Legation at St. Petersburg. There he improved his opportunities to delve among the imperial archives for a Life of Peter the Great; and, having presently a chance to travel in Central Asia where now the Czar holds undisputed sway, he produced two volumes on Turkistan, which are his most important work, and which at once made him an authority on that branch of the Eastern question most interesting to Englishmen. Subsequently he was transferred to Constantinople as Consul-General, and his reports on the Bulgarian massacres of 1876 aroused public sentiment in England, led by Gladstone, to such a pitch that Beaconsfield's Government was compelled to abstain from interfering on behalf of Turkey in the war of 1877-'78. To this period belongs an article in the *Nation* on the best works on the Eastern question, and another on Americans in Turkey. In 1878 he was transferred as Consul to Birmingham, and published in these columns an account of the nascent Birmingham caucus. His consul-generalship at Rome bore no fruit for the *Nation*, but that at Bucharest led him to write on the Rumanian language and fairy tales. His highest degree in the service was reached when he was appointed Minister Resident and Consul-General to Greece, Servia, and Rumania. No other nation but our own would have dispensed with so experienced and apt a diplomat, but Mr. Schuyler was discarded, and given leisure to write his third significant work, on 'American Diplomacy and the Furtherance of Commerce' (1876), which was made the pretext for the Senate's rejecting his nomination as Assistant Secretary to Mr. Blaine, under the present Administration, and its grudging him the appointment to Cairo in which, we think we may say, he sacrificed his health and his life.

—Mr. Schuyler chose for his European residence, while out of the service, Alassio on the Riviera, and it was clear that Italy suited him as well as any country in the world, reviving his literary interests and gratifying his tourist's instinct, so that he followed in turn "In the Footsteps of Dante," and of those other eminent personages whose names have been cited above. His versatility was remarkable, his love of language perhaps ranking first, and being accompanied by musical taste and study and a fondness for botany. He was educated at Yale and Columbia for the bar, and it was the accident of the visit of a Russian frigate to this port which determined his lot in life. He had a very genial and companionable temperament, and a great fund of anecdote, good-nature, and obligingness. He had perhaps hardly the qualities of an historian, but he was an excellent observer and a diligent explorer, and it is noticeable what sympathy he showed in his newest surroundings. His translation of 'Fathers and Sons' and of 'The Cossacks,' together with magazine articles on Turgeneff and Tolstoi, were among the earliest introductions of these great writers to the English-speaking public. In short, Mr. Schuyler's life had on the side both of letters and of world-politics a marked influence, and that, too, as a forerunner. Mr. Schuyler was born at Ithaca, N. Y., on February 26, 1840, a son of the late George W. Schuyler. He married, somewhat late in life, a daughter of the late Gov. John A. King, and sister of the wife of the French statesman, M. Waddington.

RECENT POETRY.

SEVENTY-FIVE years ago, Goethe was already anxious lest the multiplicity of poets should drive poetry out of the world:

"Wisse dass mir sehr missfällt
Wenn so viele singen und reden!
Wer treibt die Dichtkunst aus der Welt?
Die Poeten!"

The critic learns to his cost that the tuneful brethren are still at it; and, instead of growing smaller and choicer, as they reasonably should, the poetic tomes grow thicker and heavier. New lands and zones are ransacked, and a volume of more than six hundred pages comes to us, entitled 'Australian Poets, 1788-1818' (Cassell), and edited by Mr. Douglass B. W. Sladen, B.A., Oxon., B.A., LL.B., Melbourne, Australia. (Like the Vicar of Wakefield, we love to give the whole name.) Mr. Sladen says regretfully that, being editor, he "can give nothing about himself but a summary," and follows with nearly a page of autobiography in small type, this being duplicated by a page and a half of biography of him at the beginning, stating essentially the same facts from another hand. The book itself represents much labor, but not much discrimination; and its chief interest, beyond that of general human sympathy, lies in its giving us some added poems by Alfred Domett (Browning's "Waring"), whose one strong Christmas hymn, "It was the calm and silent night," stands strangely isolated among the pages of trash by men less gifted. Its dignity and music almost refute the theory that a poet should cultivate local coloring, since all Domett's other poems, as here collected, possess that attribute, and yet are all incomparably inferior to the "Hymn." Henry Kendall, on the other hand, is at his best in local coloring, and has some really noble descriptive passages, although we cannot but think him overrated by his editor. None of these poets seem to have made so much out of Australia, however, as some of the minor Irish poets—Callanan, for instance—have made out of Ireland; and Pringle wrote many years ago, in South Africa, a "Desert Ride" which far surpassed any similar description in this volume. The fairest comparison would be, perhaps, between this Australian collection and the volume just published by the Western Association of [American] Writers; and the result is unquestionably in favor of Australia.

There is an endless interest in the problem of the transplantation of fame, especially across the ocean. An American fame is easily transplanted to England by the mere fact of local residence; indeed, it is sometimes, as in "Joaquin" Miller's case, created in England by the mere fact of novelty, and afterwards very imperfectly transplanted to the poet's own land. Then there is the more striking case of Lowell, who was known in England only as the author of the "Biglow Papers," and classed habitually with Artemus Ward and Josh Billings, until the mere accident of his residence in London as American Minister made known the thinker and the scholar. But in this country the fact of personal residence makes little difference; we know Englishmen through their books, if at all, and who can tell by what law of selection? Of three men frequently named in English journals as possible candidates for the Poet Laureateship, Sir Edwin Arnold has more readers in America than in his own country, while Alfred Austin and Lewis Morris are almost completely unknown; hardly a volume of theirs has ever been reprinted, nor do their names appear in the newspaper corners. In the thick volume, 'The Works of Lewis Morris' (Longmans), one looks in vain for a solution of this mystery, nor indeed is it quite clear what is the origin of his popularity at home. Perhaps the best solution is in the fact of his prevailing commonplaceness. Like the late Dr. Holland in this country, he has the faculty of saying better than others the things which the average man thinks; and this, with a generous and hopeful spirit—for he is not, like Alfred Austin, a Tory of the Tories—gives him a hold upon the people. He goes among the dreadful sights of the London streets by night; and while he does not, like a more gifted poet of the same name, come out a Socialist, he at least remains a high-minded and sympathetic man, who closes the story of a street outcast with the terse lines—

"Only blind me in heart and brain,
Or ever I look on the like again." (P. 48.)

Another point of interest in Lewis Morris is that he is not, like so many of the men now prominent in London, a Scotchman; he is a Welshman, and proud of his traditions. Indeed, he gives us in "David Gwyn" a Welsh ballad that needs but a little more of fervor and dramatic power to take rank with Browning's "Hervé Riel." On the other hand, he has that drawback of tastelessness and rudeness which marks so many Englishmen; imagine, for instance, a man's ending a strain of serious and even profound feeling with an image so grotesque as that which closes the poem called "Drowned":

"And, O Infinite Cause! didst Thou,
When thou mad'st this hapless child,
Dowered with passions, fierce and wild,
See her lie as she lies now?

"Filled with wild revolt and rage,
All I feel I may not speak;
Fate so strong and we so weak,
Like rats in a cage—like rats in a cage."
(P. 19.)

A similar offensive grotesqueness is found in the very first line of Mr. Wilfrid Scawen Blunt's 'A New Pilgrimage, and Other Poems'

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(London: Kegan Paul; New York: Scribner & Welford). The book opens with the lines:

"Care killed a cat, and I have cares at home
Which vex me nightly and disturb my bed."

Inasmuch as the most important part of the book consists of sonnets, and he tells us in his preface that "Next to the last, the first line of each sonnet is the most important," we may assume that this image of the wailing cat is in his mind almost the high-water mark of poetry. Mr. Blunt is nothing if not whimsical, and devotes himself as eagerly to overthrowing the Petrarchan model of the sonnet as others now labor to exclude all other types; nor is he haunted by any doubts of his own ability to illustrate his own propositions, for he says of himself: "He is far from saying that the octave is not more perfect without it [a third rhyme], but he has found *by experience* that many a good sonnet cannot be written except with this indulgence" (p. xi). The italics are our own, and we should pronounce that man happy who had found "by experience" the art of writing many good sonnets on any plan conceivable.

It is doubtful whether Mr. Austin Dobson's publishers have done him a real service in issuing an edition of his 'Poems' (Dodd, Mead & Co.). The freshest and daintiest confectionery only serves as mockery of a genuine meal, and the more one sees of it beyond a certain point, the worse. A single poem by Austin Dobson, found in a newspaper corner, is delightful, and two or three might safely be carried in one's pocket, and administered without fear to admiring audiences; but a volume of them gives satiety, and two volumes an inconceivable surfeit. The very daring of his fancies, the absolute neatness and precision of his rhymes—where was there ever such a *tour de force*, for instance, in respect of rhymes, as in his "Molly Trefusis"?—these awaken at last not merely a sense of fatigue, but even a slight resentment, as when a man tries us with too many puns. And when we find him, just once in all these 500 pages, rising to the dignity of real emotion—in the oft-quoted "Once at the Angelus"—it makes the reader feel that the best thing in the book after all is the modest preliminary self-estimate, "*Majores majora canent.*" Alas, his motto has hardly been heeded, and it is the *minores* and *minora* following profusely in the wake of Mr. Dobson from whom English literature has had most to suffer.

Turning to recent American volumes, we have before now expressed with some frankness our opinion as to the exceedingly crude and imitative poetry of Mr. Madison Julius Cawein, to whom Mr. Howells has been so injudicious a friend. We have in 'Lyrics and Idyls' (Louisville, Ky.: John P. Morton & Co.) the same wearisome alternation of Poe and Swinburne as in his former volumes; he unearths dead Gloramone from the tomb, with the one, and borrows "hard kisses" and alliterative cadences from the other. One sole sign of progress is visible, that the author has added another and a better model to his list, and is now Browningesque in addition to his previous predilections. If Bayard Taylor or some clever author of imitative verse had undertaken to reproduce Browning's "The Laboratory," he could hardly have hit it off more completely than Mr. Cawein has done it in "His First Mistress—Reign of Louis XIV." The measure is the same, the compounder of subtle poisons, the glass mask, and all the rest of the properties; only that Browning's conspirator ends, "Next moment I dance at the King's," and Cawein's, "Now away to the royal levee." If the only aim for an American author is to select some older poet and serve him up with the admixture of a large dilution of *aqua fortis*, Mr. Cawein has well chosen his career. In any other point of view he has missed it, and all, perhaps—since he unquestionably has talent—for want of a little wholesome repression at the outset.

A complete edition of the 'Poems' of Harriet McEwen Kimball (A. D. F. Randolph & Co.) will be welcomed by the many readers whom the devout and modest writer has won. They will seem over-evangelical, perhaps, to those less steeped in technically Christian traditions, and there is a certain incongruity in a dedication "To my Mother, the Holy Catholic Church," preceded by a prelude addressed to John Greenleaf Whittier; but such combinations are now not infrequent, and the book may be freely commended for what it gives. We would gladly say as much, if we honestly could, for 'The New Pandora: A Drama,' by Harriet H. Robinson (Putnams). It is mentioned in some newspapers as an "epoch-making" book, but we should rather call it epoch-made, and only a rather over-ambitious expression of the thoughts and aims of the period. It is, however, unexceptionable in tone and allusion, and is therefore altogether more pleasing than such works of the feminine-fleshly school as 'The Fallen Pillar Saint, and Other Poems,' by Susie M. Best (Dillingham), in which "red, wet lips" and "smooth, lithe limbs" are constantly forced upon our attention, here and there tagged with the moral that all this is vanity, as thus:

"The emollient sweet of a lingering kiss
Has no power to charge the heart with bliss
When Cloyment deadens delight, I wis."
(P. 32.)

We should say that Cloyment must ensue quite rapidly on such delight as these verses give. But it must be owned that worse remains behind when we are told, in a circular by the publishers of 'Cleopatra, by J. C. J.' (San Francisco: Bancroft), that the first part of this poem was "written on a wager that the author [as a woman] could not treat the subject with the necessary warmth and color." This is certainly bidding pretty low, as regards both author and publisher, but the wager was clearly won, and the fact that the poems—which are quite worthless except in the direction here adroitly intimated—have reached their third edition, seems to imply that the author knew her San Francisco pretty well. But is not all this a curious subject of contemplation for the many who have hoped to see literature purified by feminine influence? When a mere man, like Algernon Sydney Logan, takes "Messalina" as a subject for a tragedy in five acts (Philadelphia: Lippincott), he has a theme far more repulsive than any treated by either of these ladies, and yet handles it in a much purer spirit. It would be a curious outcome of the present tendency if it should ultimately be necessary to debar carefully reared young ladies from all books written by their own sex, and limit them strictly to a literature supplied by men.

In 'Poems' by John Hay (Houghton, Mifflin & Co.) the well-known "Pike County Ballads" are put first, as if presenting their author's claim to eminence. It is already evident that he must have some higher claim, if any; they floated into popularity on the wane of Bret Harte, and must follow his ebb. Indeed, they are coarser in texture than his, and now seem even less genuine. Against them may fairly be set, by way of protest, the Deacon Brown, who is quite as fitly celebrated by Charles Henry Webb (John Paul), in 'Vagrom Verse' (Boston: Ticknor & Co.), who says of his hero:

"Ef he'd been a high-toned gambolier
Or the rough of a minin' camp,
With a bushel of sin in his kerricter,
An' a touch of Sairey Gamp;
Or an injineer or an injin thar—
Any kind of a rum-histin' lout,
P'raps he'd a done some pretty big thing
Fur me to be splurgin' about."
(P. 23.)

But, as it was, Deacon Brown simply plodded on in "a good square way" till he was killed at Gettysburg. And so in regard to Mr. Hay, it is when he forsakes dialect and accepts the standards of civilization that he is strongest; as in his "Triumph of Order," and in this his one really profound and thoughtful poem:

THE STIRRUP CUP.

My short and happy day is done,
The long and dreary night comes on:
And at my door the Pale Horse stands
To carry me to unknown lands.

His whinny shrill, his pawing hoof,
Sound dreadful as a gathering storm;
And I must leave this sheltering roof
And joys of life so soft and warm.

Tender and warm the joys of life—
Good friends, the faithful and the true;
My rosy children and my wife,
So sweet to kiss, so fair to view.

So sweet to kiss, so fair to view—
The night comes down, the lights burn blue;
And at my door the Pale Horse stands
To bear me forth to unknown lands.
(P. 124.)

Several good volumes of selected verse have recently appeared. Mr. A. H. Bullen still continues his welcome explorations of the resources, seemingly inexhaustible, of the Elizabethan literature, and gives us 'Poems, chiefly Lyrical, from Romances and Prose-Tracts of the Elizabethan Age: with Chosen Poems of Nicholas Breton' (London: Nimmo). The selection and editing are admirable, as is customary with Mr. Bullen; and the book gives a renewed sense of the wealth and poetic range of that extraordinary period. In 'Songs of Fairy Land,' compiled by Edward T. Mason (Putnams), we have a remarkably attractive selection of poems on the theme indicated, including, we are glad to say, Hood's thoughtful and beautiful "Plea of the Midsummer Fairies."

Mr. George Johnston, whose 'Poets and Poetry of Cecil County, Maryland,' was once commended in these columns, has now followed it up by a similar work on 'The Poets and Poetry of Chester County, Pennsylvania' (Lippincott). Mr. Johnston is a literary delver so honest and industrious that it seems as if he might go into any newly settled county of South Dakota and turn up a nest of poets under every wayside stone. In Chester County he has found it easy enough, and he might almost have labelled his book 'Flora Cestrica,' after a similar work done in the department of natural history many years ago. His most notable authors are Bayard Taylor and Thomas Buchanan Read, but he has given minute biographies, with specimens, of more than eighty versifiers; and there is a pleasant Quaker flavor prevailing through the volume. Another volume which has the merit of a local coloring is 'Songs of Syracuse, and Other Poems,' by William Burt Harlow (Syracuse, N. Y.: W. B. Harlow). 'Bluebird Notes,' by Ira Billman (Funk & Wagnalls), has also a little out-door atmosphere, though scarcely enough to flavor so large a book.

'Poems of the Turf, and Other Ballads,' by Em. Peirce (Buffalo, N. Y.: The Wenborne-Sumner Co.), show nothing of the demoralization supposed to attend that "profligate animal" the horse, but they also show little of the poetic interest associated with him. The publishers of 'Helen,' by Campbell Waldo White (Chicago: Dibble), announce it as being "the American Lucile." But the first mortgage on the English work here mentioned was taken long ago by the author of 'Geraldine,' and it seems a pity that three poor books should be built upon the same model. 'Young Kon-

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kaput, the King of Utes, a Legend of Twin Lakes, and Occasional Poems,' by Prof. Thomas Nelson Haskell of Colorado College (Denver: Collier & Cleveland), has a motive so generous that the reader readily ignores some grotesqueness in detail, and an evident absence of the sense of humor.

There are two really encouraging volumes in the latest American poetry. One of these is 'In the Garden of Dreams; Lyrics and Sonnets,' by Louise Chandler Moulton (Boston: Roberts Bros.); and it is encouraging because it shows a distinct advance in imagination, depth of feeling, and artistic execution, with a diminution of that over-sensibility which has threatened, in times past, to obscure this author's power. The other is 'The North Shore Watch,' by George E. Woodberry, a book which, while censured in some quarters as too cold and academic, has yet been accepted by many gratified readers as being full of promise. The influence of Matthew Arnold and Lowell is just as distinctly seen in it as are those of very different exemplars in Mr. Cawein's verse, but in a form how different! There is no direct and flagrant copying, nothing second-hand or enfeebling. As is apt to be the case with first volumes, the longer poems afford less sure indication of permanent acceptance than the shorter; but it may be safely said that the two sonnets written at Gibraltar have had but few equals in recent American or English literature, and are of themselves sufficient to make a reputation:

AT GIBRALTAR.

I.

England, I stand on thy imperial ground,
Not all a stranger; as thy bugles blow,
I feel within my blood old battles flow—
The blood whose ancient founts in thee are found.
Still surging dark against the Christian bound
Wide Islam presses; well its peoples know
Thy heights that watch them wandering below;
I think how Lucknow heard their gathering sound.
I turn, and meet the cruel, turbaned face.
England, 'tis sweet to be so much thy son!
I feel the conqueror in my blood and race;
Last night Trafalgar awed me, and to-day
Gibraltar wakened; hark, thy evening gun
Startles the desert over Africa!

II.

Thou art the rock of empire, set mid-seas
Between the East and West, that God has built;
Advance thy Roman borders where thou wilt,
While run thy armies true with his decrees;
Law, justice, liberty—great gifts are these;
Watch that they spread where English blood is spilt,
Lest, mixed and sullied with his country's guilt,
The soldier's life-stream flow, and Heaven displease!
Two swords there are: one naked, apt to smite,
Thy blade of war; and, battle-storied, one
Rejoices in the sheath and hides from light.
American I am; would wars were done!
Now westward, look, my country bids good-night—
Peace to the world from ports without a gun!

PROCONSULSHIP UNDER THE BRITISH EMPIRE.—II.

Thirty Years of Colonial Government: A Selection from the Despatches and Letters of the Right. Hon. Sir George F. Bowen. Edited by Stanley Lane-Poole. 2 vols. Longmans, Green & Co. 1890.

THE three colonies which Sir George Bowen had hitherto governed all possessed representative institutions and responsible government. In such the Crown has only a veto upon legislation, and the home Government has no control over any public officer except the Governor. The general principle by which the Governor of such a colony is to be guided was laid down by the Duke of Newcastle, when Secretary for the Colonies, to be, "that when imperial interests are concerned, he is to consider himself the guardian of those interests, but in matters of purely local politics he is bound, except in extreme cases, to follow the advice of a ministry which appears to possess the confidence of the Legislature." Mauritius and Hong Kong, to which the Governor next proceeded, were both governed as Crown colonies. In such colonies the Crown has the entire control of legislation, while the administration is carried on by public officers under the control of the home Government.

From 1879 to 1883 Sir George Bowen governed Mauritius. That island, which Thiers called "the fair Malta of the Indian Ocean," is still very much of a French colony, although it is a British possession. With his knowledge of their language, and with his cosmopolitan character, the new Governor soon made himself at home with the islanders. He found, however, that as the Governor of a Crown colony he had at least three times more official work than as Governor of colonies like Victoria, Queensland, or New Zealand, where he was only a constitutional ruler. He then realized Louis XIV.'s dictum, *L'État c'est moi.* "You Governors of English Crown colonies are almost the only despots left in the world, and you are not even, as Voltaire said of Russia, tempered by regicide," remarked Gambetta to Sir George Bowen when the latter stopped for a while in Paris on his return to England. During his short term as Governor, Sir George gave his attention to questions of public instruction; a new labor code for the East Indian immigrants and their employers; the sanitary state and laws of the island; forest conservation and culture; irrigation and public works generally, and to numerous other questions. While he put up a monument to the memory of Paul and Virginia, he raised one to himself by the establishment of a public library and colonial institute.

The island of Hong Kong, which Sir George Bowen governed from 1883 to 1886, is the great entrepôt for European commerce with China and Japan. While Mauritius has suffered by the opening of the Suez Canal, Hong Kong has gained very much by the work of M. de Lesseps. From a pirates' stronghold Hong Kong has been transformed into a first-rate mart of commerce in the less than fifty years that it has been in the possession of Great Britain, by cession from China. The results of Sir George Bowen's rule in this colony were important. On his recommendation the Council was reconstructed so as to give the inhabitants a voice in the management of local affairs. A representative of the Chinese community, along with other unofficials, now took his seat at the board. Water supply, sanitation, and education were dealt with. The question of defence was urged upon all concerned, and, the colony being then free from debt, a loan of £200,000 was raised for fortifications. Mindful as he was of local affairs, it was, however, in his imperial capacity as Consular-Lieutenant that Sir George Bowen's tenure of office was memorable. It was while he was Governor of Hong Kong that hostilities broke out between the French and Chinese, and that war between Great Britain and Russia had nearly broken out. During these times the British Governor showed himself a wise and most capable, as well as patriotic, public servant. Had he listened to some of the people with whom he was surrounded, he could not but have embroiled Great Britain with France, China, and Russia. He maintained British rights and British neutrality, and at the same time preserved friendly relations with the belligerent Powers. Government House was made a friendly meeting-place for all comers. The Governor himself describes it as "a neutral ground on which English, French, American, German, Russian, Italian, Chinese, and Japanese Ministers, admirals, generals, and other high officers, on visiting this port, frequently met, and so learned to be in good humor with England, and, to some extent, with each other." No wonder that Lord Dufferin and other authorities congratulated the Governor upon the skill and tact with which he had preserved the peace of the world in that quarter.

The handsome hospitalities extended to strangers at Government House, Hong Kong, were as handsomely acknowledged by the neighboring governments when Sir George Bowen gave them the opportunity of doing so. The accounts which are given in the book of visits so paid are highly interesting, for the Governor saw things under every advantage. His visit to Macao, as the guest of the Portuguese Governor, gives a glimpse of that blighted colony, which, nevertheless, sends a representative to the Parliament at Lisbon. He had several interviews with Li-Hung-Chang, the Bismarck of China, and by him was entertained at a splendid banquet. Prince Kung, head of the Chinese Foreign Office, wrote to excuse himself for not asking Sir George to dinner, "because the Princess, one of my consorts, died last night," but he showed the British Governor the highest mark of Chinese respect by sending him a magnificent dinner of twelve courses, with two large *amphoræ* (just like those of ancient Rome) of Chinese wine from the imperial cellars. In Japan, the Governor was entertained as a guest of the State, in recognition of the hospitality he had shown to Japanese officials when visiting Hong Kong. Most interesting are some of the things Sir George Bowen has to tell us of the people whom he met. Thus, Li-Hung-Chang told him that he was himself in favor of external peace, and of the introduction of the railway and the telegraph, but that the country gentry and *literati* thwarted him in giving effect to his wishes. Sir George consoled the great man by remarking that the "country gentry and *literati*" of England, in the memory of men still living, were generally in favor of war with France and opposed to railways. In Japan Sir George Bowen found that some of the more advanced politicians seriously proposed to proclaim Christianity as the religion of the State, not because they believed in it themselves, but because they thought that a "heathen country would never be admitted into the full comity of nations"; such admission being, we are told, the ardent desire of every patriotic Japanese.

On the 19th of December, 1885, Sir George Bowen left Hong Kong on leave of absence. On his way to England he visited the Viceroy of India, his friend Lord Dufferin. At the close of 1886 Sir George resigned the government of Hong Kong, and, although it was again offered to him on the sudden death of his successor, Sir George Strahan, he made up his mind to retire finally from public service, with a view to entering public life in England, having some hope of a seat in Parliament. Had Sir George been a brewer, a railway director, a country solicitor, or a landowner, he might have had some ground for hoping for a seat in the House of Commons. His career as an imperial statesman would, however, have but little recommendation to constituencies whose representatives are elected upon questions affecting the parish rather than the empire. As a member for one of the universities, he may yet take his seat; but otherwise the ex-Governor must await the consummation of Imperial Federation, when he may make sure of becoming a Senator of the Empire.

The British Government having decided to

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give a more liberal form of government to the colony of Malta than that dependency had hitherto enjoyed, Sir George Bowen was appointed, in 1887, one of the Royal Commissioners to visit Malta, and to report upon the electoral arrangements connected with the new Constitution. His knowledge of the Italian language now stood him in good stead. Having, among other matters, to report upon the mode of representation which should be accorded to the ancient nobility of the island, comprising twenty-eight families, the commissioners were waited upon by a deputation of the nobles. At the head of the deputation was the "Premier Noble," a charming girl of twenty-one, with a title conferred upon her ancestor by the Spanish King of Sicily in 1350, and with a pedigree of a terrible length. The recommendations of the Commissioners with regard to the political arrangements of the future were approved by the Government, and thus closes the last official act which the editor of the papers records.

To the official papers Mr. Lane-Poole has appended an address upon the subject of Imperial Federation, which was delivered before the Royal Colonial Institute in London in 1886. The consolidation of the British Empire seems to have early secured the sympathy of the ex-Governor, whose advocacy of the cause was solicited by the late Mr. W. E. Forster, himself one of its stanchest promoters. The question of Imperial Federation involves the union, in the first instance, of the outlying dependencies, as, in the case of the Dominion of Canada, has already been accomplished, and, as it would seem, will shortly be done in the case of the Australasian group. The next stage is that of the union with one another and with the parent state, under Federal conditions, of the Colonial States. Regarding the British Empire as one great commercial enterprise, the project of Imperial Federation is to raise the colonies from the position of dependents to the rank of partners in the concern. The colonies will be required to put capital into the business by bearing some share of the imperial burdens, and the parent State will share with them its present monopoly of the control of the affairs of the Empire. Something of the sort appears inevitable in the face of the vigorous growth of the Canadian, Australasian, and South African communities.

From beginning to end this book will be found of unflagging interest to those in any way concerned in affairs of state. Its pages reveal the practice of imperial sway on the justest and noblest principles. The correspondence is throughout that of men of the highest culture. The two volumes, with Walrond's 'Life of Lord Elgin,' the admirable Governor of Jamaica, Canada, and India, successively, should form part of the outfit of every Governor appointed by Queen Victoria; and the reading of them by any American statesman of the present hour must excite salutary reflections on the woful lack of administrative training and ability in this Republic.

Varieties and Synonyms of Surnames and Christian Names in Ireland. By Robert E. Matheson. Dublin: Thom & Co.

THE foregoing book was published, as the title-page informs us, for the guidance of registration officers and the public in searching the indexes of births, deaths, and marriages. It contains a list of nearly 2,000 surnames occurring in Ireland, with their variations and equivalents in common use. As many of the equivalents are to all appearance totally distinct names, it has been thought convenient to add a list of the districts where the more noteworthy occur; and the whole is supplemented by an index of the names in alphabetical order, numbered agreeably to the principal list. Variations in Christian names are also made the subject of a short chapter, the utility of which will be evident from one or two examples. Thus it appears that "Edie" occurs as the name both of a man and a woman, in the former case being a shortened form of "Adam." So, again, when we find that the same name may be written indifferently Alicia and Elisha, still more when Bridget or Delia may be the appellation of a person with *one* Christian name, the difficulties which have been encountered by the compiler of the work become apparent.

Although the nominal object of the publication is to assist persons whose business demands the easy recognition of names in their various forms, the three short preliminary chapters, touching as they do on the origin and philosophy of the changes which names in Ireland have undergone, appear to indicate that the work is, if not a labor of love, at all events something more than a register for official convenience. These chapters are in some respects the most interesting part of the book, for they deal with not the least attractive portion of the history of the loss to Ireland of her national language and literature. It is a peculiar feature, both of the Irish language and name-lore, that we are enabled to contemplate in them the actual process of change which, in the case of other peoples, is more or less conjectural. We can see how name after name has been corrupted by alien speakers, or has become unintelligible or not respectable, until finally another has been substituted. The change is of considerable antiquity, but it is probable that in former times it took place in both directions, according as the Celtic tongue, and therewith the Celtic nomenclature, forsook or reconquered the districts of plantation. But within the last hundred years Irish has given ground with unparalleled rapidity, and no doubt the name changes in that time have been all one way. Not to be overlooked as a factor in the process is the disrepute into which Gaelic names have sunk through the apathy of their possessors or the prejudice of the upper classes. For it is scarcely credible that the mere desire of finding an English substitute could have dictated such changes as that of "Diarmuid" to "Jeremiah," "Murchadh" to "Mortimer," "Tadhg" to "Timothy" or "Thaddeus."

However, there can be little doubt that in many cases both caprice and accident have been at work in multiplying one name into many. A good instance is quoted by the author, of a district where the name "Markey," from Irish *marcach*, a horseman, has been replaced by the synonym "Rhyder" in certain families, both names thereafter remaining in fashion. The familiar Irish word *carraig*, a rock, has given birth to four different names, Carrick, Craig, Cregg, and Rock. *Craig*, it may be remarked, is Welsh for rock, borrowed by the Anglo-Saxon. The names "Phelan" and "Whelan" are so like each other that it seems scarcely necessary to explain that they are both from the Irish *Ui-Faolain*. A point has, however, been missed in the explanation given, for *f* before *a* in Irish has a sound nearly the same as *fw;* consequently, when the *f* is sunk by aspiration, the sound *wh* is the natural residue.

The few Gaelic words which are still the natural birthright of Irish-born persons are represented in the synonyms "White" and "Bawn," "Black" and "Duff" (*dubh*); "Waters" and "Uiske"; "Smith" and "Gow"; "Oaks" and "Darragh." Less well known are "Sheedy" (*sioda*), "Silk," "Quillan" (*cuileann*), "Holly." The common name "Whitehead" appears in its Irish form as "Canavan;" *Ceannbhan* is the Gaelic word for "Bogdown," or white, cotton-like flower of the rush.

Some of the equivalents are very puzzling. To those without experience even the more simple would present difficulties. Thus an Englishman would find it hard to see the connection between McCrory and Rogers. But strip the prefix from the former, the postfix from the latter, and we get the intelligible substitution of Roger for Ruaidhrigh or Rory. The transformation of Connor into Noher is easy to understand, bearing in mind the liability of initial *c* to degenerate into *h*. In the same way McCavish for Combes, and McTavish for Thompson, are instances of the tendency of *m* in an Irish mouth to become *v*. Keary for Carey, McGurl for McGarrell, and Rountree for Rowantree, are instances of Irish methods of pronunciation which no one with a pair of ears could fail to notice.

We cannot forbear quoting as an example of the difficulties which beset the name-fancier one that has occurred in our own experience. The name "Footwengler," which appears over a shop in one of the streets of Dublin, was for us an unsolved riddle till, passing down the Strand, London, by chance we saw a name which, while scarcely differing in sound, supplied a clue to the mystery. This name was "Furtwangler," and the corruption affords a good illustration of the facilities for deception caused by the erroneous division of compound words. In the case of Irish names the clue is often to be sought, as Joyce has pointed out, in the traditional pronunciation preserved in the locality where the name occurs.

It is somewhat ludicrous to reflect on the different fate which has befallen the seemingly French termination, "ville." This, in the names Woodville and Mandeville, is thought to mean the prince of darkness. But in Ireland, in the name Melville, it signifies his principal antagonist; for Melville is the synonym of Mulvehill, and the formula for Mulvehill is *maol-mhicill*, the slave or tonsured priest of St. Michael. The latter part of the name is correctly preserved in the more ordinary equivalent, "Mitchell." Interesting, also, are the two distinct synonyms, each with its own varieties, which we find for Johnson—McKeown and McShane. Eown (or, correctly, Eoin) is the Irish Scriptural equivalent of John. Shane, of course, owes its origin to the Gaelic mispronunciation of English *j*.

Those interested in the variation of names through illiterate spelling or obscure pronunciation should consult the list itself, which contains numerous examples of modifications arising from those sources.

A History of Philosophy. By J. E. Erdmann. English translation edited by W. S. Hough, Ph.M. 3 vols. Macmillan & Co. 1890.

ERDMANN'S 'Grundriss der Geschichte der Philosophie' has been for the last twenty-five years a standard handbook in Germany. Revised and enlarged again and again, it now, in the final form given it in 1878, offers a conspectus of human thought from the times of Thales to the present day. The learning shown in it is large, the arrangement orderly, the mental candor unusual, the point of view—that of Hegel—clear and frankly acknowledged, the style perspicuous and without affectation. These are excellences enough to make a book

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of solidity and serviceableness. Erdmann's is something more: it is a book of a certain distinction. Homely as it usually is, on every page we encounter not the dryasdust compiler, but a freshly working mind, full of sympathies and beliefs, individual in its attitude, its processes, and its terms of expression. Strength and honesty of personality give a winning impress to large scholarship.

"The open, I might almost say the innocent (*unschuldigen*) character of my book would have lost its physiognomy if I had copied from others without verification. Everything I have made an author say has always been found in him with my own eyes."

This is the spirit and method of the book. A hard-working man, of no great cleverness, tells what he himself has discovered. "The gratifying consciousness that I have not deviated from this singleness of view (*i. e.*, that not chance and planlessness, but coherence, rules the history of philosophy) will be felt, if I mistake not, by the attentive reader."

In a similarly individual fashion, the bibliography makes no attempt at completeness. Titles are selected according to a "wholly subjective principle," that of naming those books which have been of value to the author himself. Humanity, frankness, and inclination to first-hand judgment stamp the entire work. In reading it one feels himself safe from the hands of the bookmaker.

Yet Erdmann's work has not the evenness of execution which the bookmaker is careful to secure. The parts are treated with widely different degrees of thoroughness. The Greek and Roman period, having been already exhaustively discussed by Zeller, is here condensed into about one-third the number of pages which the mediæval occupies. Indeed, it is scholasticism which is treated with the greatest fulness and affection. The three or four hundred pages devoted to it form the best part of Erdmann's book, and perhaps the best compendious statement of the subject now existing in English. Whether through distaste or through less ample knowledge, slighter favor is shown to the English schools, especially the Sensational. A scant hundred pages suffices for them all. With Hegel, at the conclusion of the second volume, the history ends; but a third volume is added in the form of an appendix. Here are given accounts of recent German philosophy, accounts more fragmentary, but still valuable because not easily to be obtained elsewhere. An index of proper names concludes the whole, and each of the first two volumes is also supplied with its own special index. Indeed, each volume might well stand alone as an independent work.

Among English books this translation of Erdmann will find a welcome place. It is not a philosophical dictionary like Ueberweg, nor a smart piece of newspaper writing like Lewes. It is not condensed beyond understanding like Schwegler, nor distended beyond endurance like Maurice. The stamp of the facile lecturer is not upon it, as on Bowen's 'Modern Philosophy,' nor the awkwardness of the half-informed compiler, as on Bax's 'Handbook.' No excellent history of philosophy has yet appeared in English. This cannot be called excellent. There is no mark of genius about it. Seldom is it swiftly enlightening. Weber's 'Histoire de la Philosophie Européenne' excels it in skilful neatness of exposition; Windelband's 'Geschichte der Neueren Philosophie' in weight, in breadth of view, and in power of compact statement; and of course Kuno Fischer's 'Geschichte' in scale and brilliancy. But it is a good average book, with a human being behind it; one whose honesty, patience, and learning everywhere commend him to our respect. Whether such a book may be profitably read from cover to cover, may be doubtful; but it certainly will piece together helpfully that acquaintance with individual philosophers which has been acquired elsewhere. The translators deserve the thanks of English readers for the success with which they have performed a very difficult task.

Decorative Design: An Elementary Textbook of Principles and Practice. By Frank G. Jackson, Second Master in the Birmingham Municipal School of Art. London: Chapman & Hall.

ACCORDING to the preface, this book is "based upon a course of lectures delivered at the Birmingham Municipal School of Art," and "its object is to assist young students in their early decorative attempts by showing them the constructive origin of ornamentation, and to place before them such guiding principles and orderly methods as are found to underlie all true decoration of every kind." Judging from internal evidence, its object is to enable young students, with the least possible study, to produce a merchantable article of design; and its title should be 'A Mechanical Method of Designing Wall-paper.'

A few of the more obvious "principles"—*repetition*, *variety*, *contrast*, *symmetry*, and *radiation*—are disposed of in the first chapter; a bald account of the symbolic origin of certain decorative forms occupies the first part of the second chapter; and then, with a sudden and irrelevant "hence," the "practice" begins:

"Hence, let the student begin his practice by drawing a few lines, at equal distances apart, and others crossing them at right angles, producing square meshes; then emphasize certain portions, after the manner of the examples shown on Plate VII.; and he will, by exercising a little ingenuity, having regard to contrast of line and varying quantity, be able to evolve various patterns, more or less pleasing."

Practically all the rest of the book is taken up with the development and enriching of the "patterns" thus "evolved" by the exercise of "a little ingenuity." The continuous diaper is almost the only form of ornament dealt with, and a rigidly mathematical symmetry is constantly insisted on, all the higher forms of decoration being entirely ignored. In the same way, all natural forms of a higher order than plant-life are left out of the count, while color is nowhere mentioned between the two covers. Such a treatment is not "elementary," it is simply one-sided. On the other hand, it is eminently "practical," and we have no doubt that Mr. Jackson's pupils learn, in a remarkably short space of time, to produce a salable commodity.

It is a vexed question whether or no design can be taught at all. Mr. Jackson says: "If by the use of the term design, pure invention is meant, then undoubtedly it cannot be taught; it is an impossibility. But if, on the other hand, simple composition or arrangement is implied, then it can be taught, for the laws that govern composition are capable of demonstration." Perhaps so; but if composition can be taught, it is not by such kindergarten methods as these. Also, it would be well that the teacher should be a man who is himself capable of producing good design, and such a man, judging from the head and tail pieces which he has furnished for this book, as well as from the examples, Mr. Jackson is not. They are altogether empty and characterless.

The only chapters of any interest are that on "brushwork," in which the author attributes the origin of the Greek "honey-suckle ornament" to a mere inventive arrangement of brush strokes rather than to a conventionalism of the lotos or any other plant form, and the final one on the development of the acanthus. The style of the book is often slovenly and confused.

The Salmon Fisher. By Charles Hallock. New York: Harris Publishing Co. 1890.

THE titles of the chapters of this excellent book give an idea of its contents, *e. g.*, "The Distribution of the Salmon," "Life History of the Salmon," "Technology of Salmon-fishing," etc. The first and second chapters named are the most valuable, and are certainly an addition to the slowly growing mass of information about this mysterious fish. Mr. Hallock says, in refutation of the commonly received opinion that the salmon of the Pacific Coast never takes the fly, that in several rivers, notably the Clackamas in Oregon, the fish rise freely, and that from one pool in this river fourteen salmon have been taken by one rod in a day. On page 19 he confirms a fact known but to few, that there is a late autumn run of salmon which remains all winter in the headwaters of various of the Laurentian tributaries. This accounts for the June kelts, so frequent in many of these rivers, which it is not reasonable to suppose come from the fish that ascended ten to twelve months previous. Two hundred of these fresh-run autumnal fish were taken last winter with nets through the ice in the River St. John, thirty miles from its mouth. We cannot agree with Mr. Hallock's belief that the winninish shares the habit of the salmon in visiting the sea, the belief being based on the fact that no observations have proved that he does not. There are many rivers accessible to the sea in which we know positively that the trout remains the year around, though in the same rivers there are migratory trout; and we further know that in some rivers a portion of the trout migrate, while others pass their lives without a smell of salt water. As regards the winninish, we think that the burden of proof rests on those who assert that they go to the sea, and until this habit is established the statement that it exists cannot stand.

Mr. Hallock devotes considerable space to the question of salmon feeding in fresh water. This would not be necessary in a book written for people who are more familiar with the subject than Americans, but the prevailing belief here is that the salmon takes his last meal for several months before entering fresh water. How this belief can maintain itself in the face of the mass of evidence to the contrary is very strange. The fact that food is very seldom found in the stomachs of ascending salmon is held to prove that they never feed, and that the flies, artificial and natural, they rise to, and the numerous baits they greedily take, are only seized in sport. That nature has given them the power of long abstinence from food in fresh water is, we think, undoubted, as well as that their appetites then become capricious and irregular. Mr. Hallock quotes from a contributor to the *Fishing Gazette* who thinks that salmon in fresh water are not only voracious, but omnivorous, and states that bait-fishing is becoming more and more in vogue in the Scotch salmon rivers.

Regarding the quantity of food consumed by ascending fish, Mr. Hallock advances the theory that they feed on the sandworms, which exist in salmon rivers, and are not seen by reason of being nocturnal in their habits at other times lying concealed in burrows under stones on the bed of the rivers. These creatures are soft and

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pulpy in consistency, and rapidly dissolve in the stomach of the salmon. That a sufficient quantity, however, of these annelids exist in fresh water (for they are essentially marine forms) to assuage the appetite of so voracious a fish as the salmon, when at its full strength, may be questioned; and that other food in the shape of minnows, small trout, parr, and flies are not plentiful enough to do this in a well-stocked salmon river is certain. Salmon can and do live for months before spawning, in ponds of running water made for the purpose, without material loss of condition or failure in the development of the ova, which, with other reasons that want of space forbids our mentioning, proves their ability to subsist for months with scanty and occasional food. That they do feed, however, and at times with eagerness, in fresh water is amply established.

In the chapter on the "Technology of Salmon-fishing," Mr. Hallock says (p. 62), that "the only way is not to strike when a salmon rises, but to let him pull the point of the rod down three or four feet, and then fix the hook in his jaw by a gentle lifting of the rod," etc. While this is true of rivers where the current is uniformly strong and heavy, the angler who makes it a hard-and-fast rule will find that, in the smaller and less impetuous streams, he will get but few fish by this method, for in such rivers the salmon rise like the trout and detect the cheat quite as quickly. In several of the streams ruuning into the Bay of Chaleurs, the salmon must be struck the instant the rise is seen, to insure hooking him, while in the larger ones Mr. Hallock's advice is perfectly good. There are various other instructions in the art of salmon fishing, and information as to the habits of the salmon, with an itinerary of salmon waters and an account of some remarkable fishing on the Godbout River, all of which are well worth reading. Mr. Hallock's little book is an important one in its subject, and will repay perusal by all interested in angling or ichthyology.

Girls and Women. By E. Chester. [The Riverside Library for Young People, No. 8.] Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 1890. Pp. 228.

It is seldom that one has occasion to praise a book of advice to women. There is no subject on which so much that is foolish and trivial has been written, and almost nothing has been written on it which any right-thinking mother would wish to put into the hands of her daughters. But this little volume, which can be had in an attractive dark-blue binding for the modest sum of seventy-five cents, is of a totally different calibre from the usual writing on the subject, and, in fact, from writing that is usual on any subject. In clearness and force, in temperance, in wisdom, and in elevation of feeling, it is not too much to say that it is a very remarkable book. If all young girls who are now growing up, and all older people who are not too old to be changed, could be got to read it and to ponder it in the quiet of their own rooms, it is not easy to say how much the world might be made the better thereby.

The most remarkable thing about this book is its real point of view. Too much that is said to women rests upon the assumed basis that, because women suffer certain evils, they are marked out by Nature for self-sacrifice, and that any movings they may feel towards a life of their own ought to be rigidly suppressed. It is true that much that is different from this is thought, but it is this wishy-washy view of the situation which most commonly gets itself expressed. Miss Chester is wholly a modern. She takes it for granted that her girls will be thoroughly educated, and that, whether they marry or not, they will readily, if not naturally, turn to some science or to some form of literary or artistic activity, as the outlet for at least a considerable portion of their energies, in all those cases in which their energies are not used up in self-support. On the other hand, if any one has supposed that the modern view, which regards women as an independent creation, is destined to rob them of the sweetness and beauty of character which have characterized them in the past, he will be reassured by the tone of this book; he will see that a profound feeling of intellectual responsibility not only is not incompatible with a high ideal of noble living, but is one of its essential elements, and that it creates a strength of character with the aid of which sweetness is a far more effective weapon for the regeneration of the world.

Miss Chester gives a large number of instances of girls, now middle-aged women, who have ordered their lives wisely, or not, under widely differing circumstances. She shows keen powers of psychological analysis in estimating the degrees and kinds of happiness and unhappiness that have attended their theories of life; but, more than that, she makes them wonderfully effective as incentives and warnings to the girls whose lives are yet to be ordered. And it is not only girls who may profit by her expositions; almost any one may learn wisdom from her in the difficult task of choosing, at every moment, the best that circumstance may offer.

The quality of Miss Chester's book is not easy to illustrate by extracts. It is chiefly a matter of tone—that is, of a higher kind of style—and only its admirable simplicity is apparent at the first glance. It is rather by contagion with a fine nature than by direct argument that books aimed at changes of character accomplish their work. In this book, however, the cogency of the presentation is no less remarkable than its persuasiveness. The reviewer has nothing to do but to wish that it may have a very wide circulation.

Views and Reviews: Essays in Appreciation. Literature. By W. E. Henley. Charles Scribner's Sons. 1890.

This collection of the more permanent portion of a journalist's literary reviews for the past fourteen years is a fair example of the minor criticism of the period, and is characterized by the best qualities for which our journeyman-work is often praised. Its range includes a considerable section of French literature, from Hugo, Dumas, and Balzac to Banville, Champfleury, and Labiche, but the English subjects are the more numerous. The novelists easily hold the leading place in the volume. Richardson, Fielding, Thackeray, Dickens, George Eliot, and George Meredith, with Tolstoi and the three great French story-tellers already named, are all critically touched upon, with intelligence and without enthusiasm; and the remainder and slighter part of the collection consists of short paragraphs upon such authors as Herrick, Gay, Byron, and others of the classical poets who have been revived by books of selections in the last decade, or upon Dobson or Tennyson's last volume. The traits of the time reflected are thus our predominant interest in the novel, the literary attention given by English writers of the new generation to poets of a rank below the first, and the very small original production of the time. The matter of the book is of a piece with its period—it is distinctly *petite*. It is very well-informed, good-tempered, restrained in both praise and blame, non-committal, modestly independent; the style is slightly artificial, full of adjectives like "plangent," of turns of phrase, of smart quotations; and the excellence of the whole is very even, neither better nor worse than the thousand similar notices of books that have appeared in reputable journals in England in the same space of time. The only unfavorable remark to be made is that there is so little original force in the volume that, when it has been read, one remembers hardly anything that the critic has said; a dislike of George Eliot and of Browning, not very openly expressed, is almost the only impression one gets of the author's personality, and that is a very trifling thing. One does not like to say that it is commonplace, and yet it is without distinction either of style or thought. It is petty criticism; but when so much else in our current literature is petty, what need to single out the fault in this instance?

Dr. Muhlenberg. By William Wilberforce Newton, D.D. [American Religious Leaders.] Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 1890.

The occurrence in the fourth line of Dr. Newton's preface of such a false note as "the brilliancy of Channing"—for he was never brilliant—may well make the reader bodeful of the book to come; but if he is so, he is disquieted in vain. It is a tribute of glowing admiration to a man deserving of it all. It has too much of the nature of a commentary on what is generally known: the author goes soaring away in his rhetorical balloon when we would fain keep him down upon the solid earth, and ask him a few simple questions as to various details of Dr. Muhlenberg's activity. But the rhetoric is always forcible, and often eloquent. It is seldom so much lacking in simplicity as in the following variation of a well-known proverb: "The electric glare of too great familiarity tends to do away with that healthful obscurity which is necessary to conserve and recruit the world's great personalities." Some of its phrases are extremely happy, as, for example, one describing a certain type of Catholic sentiment as "the fungous accretion of a cavernous antiquity." Dr. Newton's spirit, as here manifested, is exceedingly broad and kind. We are not less drawn to him than to the subject of his sketch.

The story of Dr. Muhlenberg's life is briefly told in forty pages. He was a descendant, with three intervening generations, from "Father Muhlenberg," one of the most active founders of the Lutheran Church in America. In this church William Augustus Muhlenberg was born September 16, 1796. In 1817 he took deacon's orders in the Episcopal Church, priest's orders in 1820, at which time he took charge of "a Low German society, without ideas, without refinement, almost without language," in Lancaster, Pa. There his vocation was quite as much educational as ecclesiastical, and in 1826 his desire to realize his ideas of the education of youth took him away from parish work to a school at Flushing, L. I., where he worked successfully for ten years, and was in a fair way to establish St. Paul's College on a liberal foundation when the crash of 1837 came near to spoiling all. The projected buildings were not built, but the college went into operation in quarters of a provisional character, and Dr. Muhlenberg gave himself, heart and soul, for eight years, to the spiritual leadership of the work, only ceasing when, in 1845, all could raise his flowers because all had the seed. His next enterprise was a free church

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in New York, the "Church of the Holy Communion," out of which came in time St. Luke's Hospital, and a Deaconess Sisterhood to carry on its work, with much besides. Meantime Dr. Muhlenberg put much of his strength into an endeavor "to emancipate the episcopate," and "unsectarize the Church," and in 1866 was born "St. Johnland," "the child of his old age," a village community on Long Island, with special reference to the needs of old men and children of both sexes, especially cripples. What was intended more than this is left painfully obscure. Here Dr. Muhlenberg was buried, near his dear and noble friend, Dr. Washburn, April 12, 1879, his death occurring on the 8th, after a brief illness.

What we miss most in Dr. Newton's short account of Dr. Muhlenberg's life is some link between it and the contemporary world. There is not a hint that he was ever touched by any of the great events occurring in America during his later manhood. Yet he was not the conventional ecclesiastic, trying to give everything an ecclesiastical stamp. His field was the world; his ambition, to make the Church largely effective for educational, charitable, and social ends. Dr. Newton follows up his biographical summary with a chapter on "The Developmeut of the School Idea in American Church Life," and rightly claims for Dr. Muhlenberg an important influence upon it. Those who prefer a purely secular education will think his energy so spent might have been better used. Next we have a chapter on "The Type of Churchmanship of which Muhlenberg was the Creator," the "Evangelical-Catholic" type; and, continuing the subject, one on "The History of the Memorial Movement," *i. e.*, of the Memorial to the House of Bishops by Muhlenberg and others advocating the Episcopal right to ordain those not strictly Episcopalians, and favoring a certain freedom of worship unlimited by the "Book of Common Prayer." These chapters are extremely interesting, and show Dr. Muhlenberg in a very pleasant light. His fondness for ceremonial observance brings into sharp relief his freedom from its bonds. It is evident that he was frequently and sometimes wilfully misunderstood. His multiplication of religious services in his own church did not imply a multiplication of them for the individual —to this he was opposed; but he desired frequent opportunity for all. That his beloved Episcopal Church was a church for rich men only was to him the gall of bitterness, and he did his best to take the curse away. A fifth and again very vague chapter is devoted to St. Luke's Hospital and the Deaconess Sisterhood and St. Johnland. A final chapter attempts to measure Dr. Muhlenberg's influence, and finds it considerable in all the particulars of his activity. But it must be confessed that it was least in that which was most central to his heart's desire—a closer sympathy of the different sects. Some of his hymns have had wide currency in all the churches. The best known, "I would not live alway," was written in his early manhood, and had not the approval of his maturer judgment. The changes that he made in it bettered its thought to the injury of its form, and it is not probable that they will be generally adopted. The original hymn is one that less and less expresses the consciousness of a Christianity which appreciates the meaning of this present life.

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Balch, Col. G. T. Teaching Patriotism. D. Van Nostrand Co. $1.50.
Besant, W. All Sorts and Conditions of Men. Harper & Bros. 50 cents.
Chambers, G. F. Handbook of Descriptive and Practical Astronomy. 4th ed. Vol. III. The Starry Heavens. Macmillan & Co. $3.50.
Clark, A. Wood's City of Oxford. Vol. II. Oxford: Clarendon Press; New York: Macmillan.
Courbertin, P. de. Universités Transatlantiques. Paris: Hachette & Cie.
Davis, E. W. An Introduction to the Logic of Algebra. John Wiley & Sons.
Deichmann, Baroness. The Life of Carmen Sylva (Queen of Rumania). London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co.
Deighton, K. Shakespeare: Julius Cæsar. Macmillan & Co. 40 cents.
DeLeon, T. C. Four Years in Rebel Capitals. Mobile: Gossip Printing Co.
Duncan, Sara J. A Social Departure. D. Appleton & Co. $1.75.
Forster, J. Four Great Teachers. Scribner & Welford. $1.
Helmburg, W. Cloister Wendhausen. Chicago: Rand, McNally & Co.
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